REMINISCENCES OF RICHARD LATHERS

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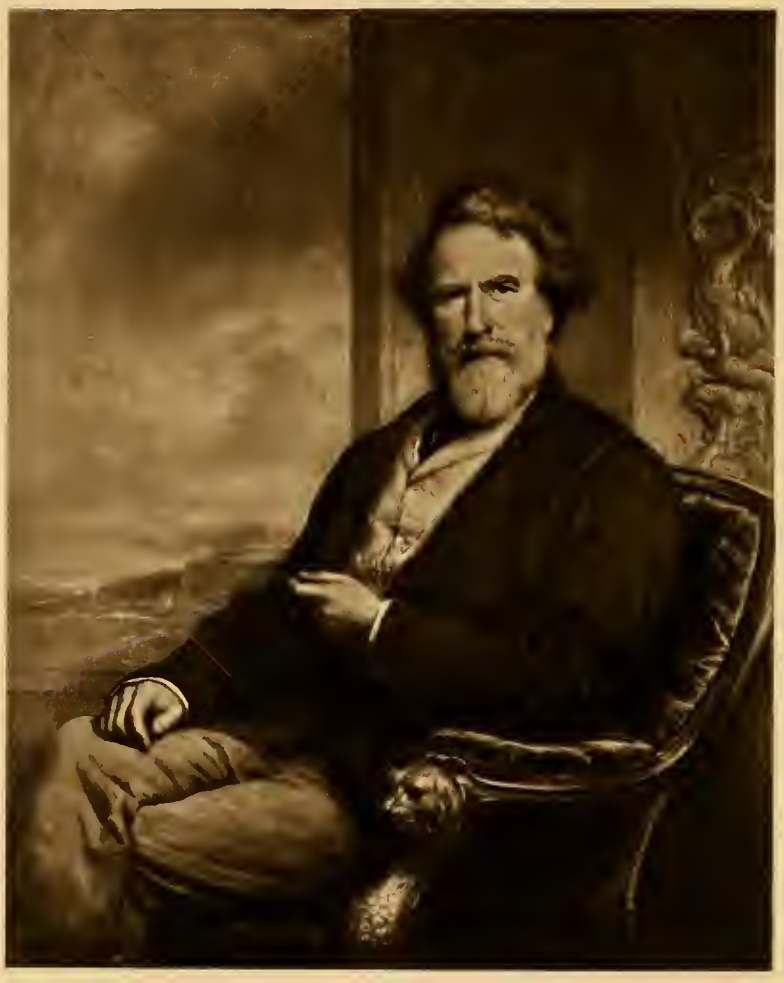

REMINISCENCES OF

RICHARD LATHERS

SIXTY YEARS OF A BUSY LIFE
IN SOUTH CAROLINA, MASSA-
CHUSETTS AND NEW YORK

EDITED BY

ALVAN F. SANBORN

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PREFACE

This book might well have been entitled "The Reminiscences of a Peacemaker."

From first to last the governing purpose of Colonel Lathers' long life was the establishment of peace. His activities in behalf of peace were of the most varied sort, being social as well as political. That he did not invariably succeed in his efforts at conciliation and reconciliation in no way discredits them or him. The wonder is, when all the circumstances are considered, that he succeeded so often.

The editing of these reminiscences has been mainly a work of selection and of condensation. They have been left as nearly in their original form as the restricted compass of a single volume has permitted.

THE EDITOR.

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THE REMINISCENCES OF RICHARD LATHERS

COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS

Died Thursday, September 17, 1903, at his New York Residence, 248 Central Park, West.

The funeral services were held at Trinity Church, New Rochelle, Saturday, September 19, 1903, and the burial was in the Trinity churchyard.

Reminiscences of Richard Lathers

CHAPTER I

OLD SOUTH CAROLINA DAYS

In the early summer of 1894 I received the following letter from the Mayor of Georgetown, S. C.:

"Bank of Georgetown, S. C.,
"June 12th, 1894.

"Hon. Richard Lathers, New York,

"*Dear Sir:*—Pardon the liberty of a stranger writing to you. While I am unknown to you, yet you are no stranger to me, as I have for years heard of your early connection with this historical old town. The reason of this letter was the publication about ten days ago in the Charleston *News and Courier,* of your letter to a young lady, thanking her for sundry papers regarding St. Michael's Church, and alluding to the old church, Prince George Winyah, in Georgetown. Your letter was republished in our Georgetown papers, and I take pleasure in handing same to you, together with a copy of the Winyah *Observer* of March, 1842, containing the Episcopal elections for that year, and, among the names, I find yours as one of the Wardens of the Prince George Winyah Church; and thinking you would like to have this leaf, so to speak, of the past, I take great pleasure in sending it to you. I have an excellent photograph of the church also, taken about three years ago, which, if you would like to have and will drop me a line to that effect, I will forward to you. I am always delighted to see old residents and friends of old Georgetown cherishing fond recollections of the place and its institutions. Though I belong to a younger generation, yet I love the past

history of the place and take pleasure in recalling old faces, scenes and memories. Hoping you will pardon this liberty on the part of a stranger, I remain,

"Yours respectfully,

"W. D. Morgan."

On looking over the newspaper referred to above, I found many items with which I was connected; such as Military Orders for the parade of the First Battalion of my regiment for drill and inspection, and a notice announcing my entrance as a partner into the most extensive mercantile establishment in the city, although I was then hardly in my majority—a piece of good fortune attributable, not to my own slender capital and moderate capacity, but to the confidence and aid of my friends, among them Joseph Thurston and Col. Donald McKay.

This flattering letter from the Mayor of Georgetown, and the requests of numerous friends, kindled in me an ambition to record the events of the last sixty years in which I have borne a part.

I have decided to begin my reminiscences with my young manhood, in order to relieve the reader of the usually tiresome details of childhood, which cannot possibly possess any but a family interest; and will only say of my early days that my education, which was a plain one, "with little Latin and less Greek," as Dr. Johnson says, was acquired partly in the very rooms of the Academy of the Winyah Indigo Society where President Cleveland was entertained recently by the City of Georgetown, and partly, during the summer months, in the rural schools and academies of the North.

The entire property of the average planter at the time I started in business was hardly equal to the annual income of the Northern millionaire of to-day; but on this relatively modest sum he dispensed a liberal and refined hospitality which challenged the admiration of all visitors to the South.

A rice plantation and two hundred negroes worth about $150,000 to $200,000 furnished an income sufficient to support

a family of five to ten persons in comparative luxury, since this enabled them to have carriages and horses, a town house, and a villa in some retreat, in addition to the homestead. The natural increase of the negroes in twenty or thirty years was sufficient to educate the children in high-grade seminaries at home or abroad and to provide marriage portions for the daughters.

When marriages were celebrated on these river plantations the guests came from as much as twenty miles in boats rowed by stalwart negroes. They remained for the night and continued the festivities the next day. On the return voyage the negro oarsmen kept time to their oars with improvised songs in honor of the bride and the groom.

The plantation furnished everything for the table except wines and groceries. The extensive forests were not only filled with deer and other game, but the "ranges" offered ample pasture for cattle, hogs, and poultry. The rivers were filled with the choicest fish, and the marshes with birds and wild fowl, which were brought in by the same slaves who cultivated the crops and performed the household tasks. I knew very few planters whose cash expenditures—even with lavish hospitality—exceeded $15,000 annually, and their annual outlay was generally under $10,000, though of course there were exceptions, some of the planters having inherited enormous estates. Occasionally, after a season of moderate economy, a family would make an excursion to New York, Saratoga, or Newport, where the expense of living was greater. This habit was confined, however, to the richer class, who lived on inherited investments.

The rice planters on the Black, Pee Dee, Samput, Waccamaw, and Santee rivers were gentlemen of culture, educated at Northern colleges or in Europe, who rarely sought the high and remunerative offices, but accepted without reluctance local appointments as school, charity, and road commissioners, and were ready to represent their district in the State legislature. The choice of candidates for the State offices, for Congress, and for Federal appointments depended on the initiative of

friends and neighbors, who gave public notice of their selection in the local journals. There were no nominating conventions or political caucuses. It was quite common to see in the columns of the Georgetown and Charleston papers considerable space given over to nomination notices, which simply declared that "many voters desired to nominate" a given person for a given office, and solicited the suffrages of the citizens accordingly. Politics were rather ignored in the drawing-room, not because the ladies were supposed to be ignorant or out of sympathy with the questions of the day (on the contrary they rather cultivated a taste for public affairs), but as a matter of good form, because Southern gallantry held that social occasions should be devoted mainly to the amusements of polite society.

The gentlemen of the South, while largely interested in the contests of the turf, were also sportsmen admirably trained and equipped for the chase of the deer and other game to be found in the boundless forests and for taking the numerous and varied fish in the rivers. To minister to these manly tastes and provide opportunities for meeting one another at regular intervals, they erected clubhouses of pine logs in central locations in the forests. Hither the hunters came to partake of their booty, which was prepared for them by the most skillful cooks, and which they washed down with rare wines. The toasts were largely devoted to State and national politics, and it was just here in these clubs, perhaps, that the intense Southern feeling was generated which afterward produced such notable results. National and sectional questions were discussed on their merits, not absolutely without personal or political bias, of course, but without the least taint of what is now called machine politics. Although opposition to the public policy of certain leaders in the State was a bar to political advancement, still personal character was an essential to public employment, from the lowest to the highest offices, municipal, State, and Federal—a conception of the civil service which we need in these days at the North. I cannot recall a single official in Georgetown or in Charleston, during my residence in these places before the

War, against whom an unworthy public or private act could be justly charged.

Whatever may be alleged against slavery in the abstract, as being inconsistent with the doctrine of a Republic and the Jeffersonian fiction that "All men are created equal," there can be no doubt that, either flowing from or merely coincident with slavery, there existed in the South before the War a remarkably high standard of public and private integrity. And there is real danger that energy in the accumulation of wealth may bring with it the business frauds and political corruption so prevalent in Northern cities. It is still a question whether the black man of the South is to be benefited practically by emancipation, since his free brother of the North, after over a hundred years of freedom, is yet his inferior in morality, intelligence, comfort, and usefulness. The negro is doomed, I fear, to the slavery of labor at the South, as before, without the compensation of the affectionate care for his person from childhood to old age which slavery afforded; and it is greatly to be doubted if the future will produce the prosperity and refinement among the whites which characterized the earlier patriarchal régime.

In the spring of 1841 Ex-President Martin Van Buren visited his Ex-Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, at his rice plantation, called "The White House"—very suggestive!—near Georgetown. In the course of this visit Mr. Van Buren, "the Northern man with Southern principles," as he was then called, was lavishly entertained by the Pee Dee Club. The Club gave a banquet in his honor to which the members contributed (as was their custom at festive dinners), not only their rare wines, the antiquity and vintage of each bottle of which they proudly heralded, but also venison, wild ducks, and turkeys, and even New York beef and English Southdown mutton. In serving the principal dish, a rare saddle of mutton, the colored steward, overexcited by the momentousness of the occasion (for colored servants of that kind shared the pride of their masters), while reaching over the shoulder of his master, John H. Tucker, who was presiding with his usual dignity, tipped the platter,

filled with rich gravy, just enough to pour nearly a pint of it between Mr. Tucker's shirt collar and his neck. The old Chesterfield did not change his countenance for a moment, but continued his conversation with his right-hand neighbor, Mr. Van Buren, as if nothing had happened. Mr. Van Buren said afterward it was the finest example of good breeding he had ever witnessed.

The guests at the Van Buren banquet, at which I was privileged to be present, were the leading citizens of Georgetown and Charleston. They were, as near as I can remember: John H. Tucker, who presided; Ex-Governor Robert F. W. Allston; John H. Allston; Col. Pinckney Allston; Col. John Ash Allston; John Izzard Middleton, member of the Legislature; Henry A. Middleton; John Alexander Keith; James Smith; Col. Donald L. McKay, president of the Bank of Georgetown; Eleazar Waterman, editor of the leading journal of Georgetown; Stephen Ford; J. Ress Ford; Col. S. T. Gaillard; Dr. James R. Sparkman; State Senator John W. Coachman; Benjamin H. Wilson; William Bull Pringle; Dr. Prior; Rev. Mr. Glennie; Rev. Harvey M. Lance; Francis R. Shackelford; General Thomas G. Carr; Colonel I. Havilson Reed, member of the Legislature; Alexander Robertson, a commission merchant of Charleston; James G. Henning; Major William W. Trapier; Colonel John Chapman; Anthony W. Dozier; Richard Dozier; Major Samuel Atkinson; Colonel Joshua John Ward, a rice planter; Dr. E. T. Heriot; State Senator J. W. Wilkinson; Judge Frost; Chancellor Duncan; Alfred Huger, postmaster of Charleston; Colonel Hayne, United States Senator; Capt. Petigru of the United States Navy; General James M. Commander; E. B. Rothmakler; and Henry W. Connor, president of the Bank of Charleston. These names are all familiar to present Georgetonians, by whom they are held in grateful remembrance.

The Allstons above mentioned were the same stock as the painter, Washington Allston, who was born at Waccamaw in 1799, three years after the Declaration of Independence. The journal of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, who visited South

Carolina in 1773-74, gives the following description of "The Oaks," the plantation of Joseph Allston, on the Waccamaw:

"March 23d—Spent the night at Mr. Joseph Allston's, a gentleman of immense income, all of his own acquisition. His plantations, negroes, gardens, etc., are in the best order I have ever seen. He has propagated the Lisbon and Wine Island grapes with great success. I was entertained with true hospitality and benevolence by his family. His good lady filled a wallet with bread, biscuit, wine, fowl, and tongue and presented it to me next morning. The wine I declined, but gladly accepted the rest. At 12 o'clock, in a sandy pine desert, I enjoyed a fine repast, and having met with a refreshing spring I remembered my worthy host, Mr. Allston, and his lady with a warmth of affection and hearty benisons. Mr. Allston sent his servant as our guide between thirty and forty miles, much to our preservation from many vexatious difficulties."

George W. Flag, a nephew and pupil of Washington Allston, who was a schoolmate of mine at the Academy of the Winyah Indigo Society, was born in New Haven, Conn., where his father, a distinguished member of the Georgetown Bar, spent his summers. Flag's portrait of Bishop England, in Charleston, early won him prominence.

It may not be out of place to remark that before the destruction of art collections in the South by the Civil War, the Georgetown District possessed many of the rarest and best specimens of Reynolds, Copley, West, Allston, Stuart, Sully, Lely, and Gainsborough.

The military titles in the above list are all legitimate, and yet are only a part of the legitimate titles that might have been used. Apart from the taste for military affairs of Carolinians generally, the law tended to encourage and maintain a high degree of efficiency in the volunteer forces of the State. Company, battalion, and regimental trainings were frequent, and, in addition, every two years all the officers from sergeants to generals were assembled for ten days in camp to be drilled

in the requirements of a common soldier under the direction of the Governor of the State. On these occasions, inefficiency or lack of conformity to discipline rendered an officer liable to be degraded or fined by a court-martial. In order to keep in the ranks the wealthy as well as the laboring white population, the fine for non-attendance on company or regimental drills or parades, which was but $1.50 for a person without property, was supplemented in the case of a person of means by an assessment of fifty per cent. on his last general tax; so that, while the mechanic earning $3.00 a day for his labor, but having no general tax, could well afford to neglect military duty, the planter or other person of wealth paying a thousand-dollar tax would find it to his interest to parade in his company rather than to risk being condemned to pay $501.50 for defaulting, by a court-martial that never failed to inflict and enforce the penalty. This system kept the ranks of the militia filled with the wealth and intelligence of the State, and tended also to build up well-trained volunteer companies and regiments. I was not quite of age when elected major of the Thirty-first Regiment. In fact, very young men were accustomed to seek for military offices as social and political stepping stones.

The ancestors of the people of South Carolina, as is well known, stood shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the North in the struggle for Independence. The heroic devotion of South Carolina, and of Georgetown in particular, to the cause, was recognized and commended by Washington in the following letter:

"To the Inhabitants of Georgetown and of its Vicinity,

"*Gentlemen*:—I received your congratulations on my arrival in South Carolina with real pleasure, and I confess my obligation to your affectionate regard with sincere gratitude.

"While the calamities to which you were exposed during the war excited all my sympathy, the gallantry and firmness with which they were encountered obtained my entire esteem.

To your fortitude in those trying scenes our country is much indebted for the happy and honorable issue of the contest.

"From the milder virtues that characterise your conduct in peace our equal Government will derive those aids which may render its operations extensively beneficial.

"That your participation of every natural advantage and your propriety in private life may be amply proportioned to your past services and sufferings is my sincere and fervid wish.

"G. WASHINGTON.

"April 29, 1791."

Our school histories are filled with incidents of personal bravery during the Revolutionary War, but standing out prominently in the early reading of every boy South and North, is the life of General Marion, who was a native of Georgetown. Georgetown was the point of departure of many of his daring military achievements. But his successful campaigns were by no means confined at home. He was the hero of the capture of Fort Johnson from the British at Charleston, as he was in repelling the British fleet in their attacks on Fort Moultrie. He was the chief defender of Savannah and Charleston against the British under General Prevost, until overpowered on land and sea by the British fleet co-operating with a superior army. When General Gates was defeated at Camden, Marion's brigade came to the rescue and recaptured most of the prisoners from the British victors. Indeed, Marion's name figures in almost every military campaign of the Southern army.

I cannot resist repeating an old story of Marion, since it is one of the most interesting incidents of our Revolution. It appears that a British officer, bearing dispatches concerning an exchange of prisoners, was led blindfolded into Marion's camp. The bandages being removed, he was astonished at discovering the redoubtable partisan leader to be the smallest person in his army. At dinner, to which he was invited, this British officer was further astonished at finding the meal to consist only of a peck of sweet potatoes, roasted in the ashes of a camp fire and served upon a fallen log; the drink was

vinegar. The officer could not resist commenting on the poverty of the fare, and was assured it was better than usual. "But your commissariat?" "We have none." "Your pay is good?" "I have never received a dollar for my services, nor have my people." "What motive have you for fighting?" "We fight for the love of liberty." It is reported that the British officer was so much impressed with the conversation that, on his return to Charleston, he resigned his commission and retired from the service. It was truly said of this great Carolinian, Marion, when he died, that he was one of the purest men, truest patriots, and most efficient generals our country has ever produced.

"We follow where the Fox Swamp guides;
His friends and merry men are we;
And where the troop of Tarleton rides,
We burrow in the cypress tree;
The turfy hammock is our bed,
Our home is in the red deer's den,
Our roof, the treetops overhead,
For we are wild and hunted men."

It is to this South Carolina heritage of a Marion, a Moultrie, a Henry, a Pickens, and a Sumter that is due in a large measure the State pride which sent into the fields of Mexico the fearless Palmetto Regiment led by Colonel (Ex-Governor) Butler, who fell in battle at the head of his troops. I recall with pride that my first commission from the State bears the signature of this gallant officer.

All Georgetown and, indeed, Charleston sixty years ago, knew the erratic wit, Burlington Thomas. I remember one of his visits to a planter's family on Pee Dee, where he had taken a fancy to a lovely young lady, and where he had often inveighed against the stilted language used at times by students returning from colleges at the North and by the young ladies from the fashionable boarding schools of Charleston.

He drove up to the piazza filled with guests, in what was then called a sulky, and, as he handed the reins to the negro

servant, looked at him with great earnestness and delivered the following: "Boy, take this quadruped, stabulate him, donate to him an adequate supply of nutritious aliment, and when Aurora illumines the eastern horizon, I will compensate you for your generous hospitality." The negro dropped the reins and ran to his master, saying, "There is a crazy buckra at the door."

There is a story told of Thomas that while at Yale or some other Eastern college, he went through the town with other students one night reversing the signs in a very ludicrous manner, putting a barber's sign over a banker's office, a tailor's sign over a milliner's shop, a shoemaker's sign, bearing the words "soles mended and kept in good order," over a clergyman's door, etc. Now just as they had taken down a tailor's sign, several professors came in sight. They ran with the sign to the dormitory and the professors followed. On reaching the room of Thomas, the graceless roisterers hastily placed the sign, letters down, on two chairs and locked the door. Then Thomas, opening his Bible, read in a loud voice, as the professors stood listening at the door, "A wicked and an adulterous generation seeketh for a sign, but no sign shall be given them." Barely able to keep from laughing aloud, the professors turned and went downstairs, leaving the Scripture-reading students to their devotions.

Shortly after the War I told these stories at a dinner party in Charleston, and Richard Yeadon, the editor of the Charleston *Courier,* printed them both in his journal the next day. At this dinner I was asked whether I could recall any anecdotes of life among the Yankees, in which language had been tortured for expression. I replied that I remembered an incident which occurred at Huntington, Long Island, and then related the following:

A wealthy but uncultured family gave a welcome-home dinner to their daughter on her graduation from a fashionable female institution in New England, where she had been so crammed with highfalutin language and sentiment as to have been unable to digest either. A number of the young men of the

neighborhood were invited. These young men, anxious to commend themselves to a person of so much wealth and culture, were so over-eager in helping her to the sumptuous dishes before them that she became quite weary of their politeness, and to protect herself against further attentions, assured them that she had "eaten her full sufficiency," and was "sisininified quite up to her twaddy." The young men, imagining "twaddy" to be a part of the stomach which had been revealed to her by her studies at school, looked at her inquiringly, whereupon the fond and proud mother explained: "My daughter is so high grandee dictionary gumfroggeted as to hardly express herself intelligently to common people."

Another Georgetonian, Ex-Governor John Lyde Wilson, was celebrated as an authority on dueling. He published a "Code of Honor," which was recognized as law in the settlement of personal differences between gentlemen. Before leaving my old home in Georgetown, I co-operated in what was, perhaps, the last appeal there to this Code. The parties were Gen. Carr and Col. Rich, both justly popular, who lived to serve in the army of the Confederacy with credit. Their friends met at my residence and effected a settlement in accordance with the requirements of the Code and honorable to the contestants—without resort to firearms. The names of the gentlemen present, as nearly as I can recall, after a lapse of fifty years, were: Judge, afterward United States Senator, A. P. Butler; Captain Petigru, of the United States Navy, and brother of the distinguished jurist and Union man, James Petigru; State Senator John W. Coachman; Col. D. L. McKay, president of the bank of Georgetown; Gen. James M. Commander; Dr. James Sparkman, and Major William Trapier. It was my first and only experience with this curious institution, which, while not justified by religious principles and out of harmony with modern civilization, yet had the redeeming quality of largely suppressing outbursts of passion, personal abuse, and outrage, and of promoting the good manners and the strict regard for social amenities of which the South is justly proud.

Judge O'Neal's "Bench and Bar of South Carolina" declares that the learned Judge Burke was a friend of this mode of settling private differences. It relates an amusing instance of his participation, as the second of Col. Burr (who afterward killed in a duel the patriot Alexander Hamilton) in an affair with John B. Church, Esq. It appears that Col. Burr's pistol balls were purposely cast too small, so as to be rammed home with chamois leather for patches. To facilitate this loading process, grease was placed in the case, but Burke, in his hurry, forgetting to use the grease, found himself unable to ram the ball home or to withdraw it. When he was reproved for his carelessness by his principal, he replied, "I forgot to grease the leather, but you see Mr. Church is ready; don't keep him waiting. Just take a crack at him as it is, and I'll take care to grease the next load for you."

Bishop England, Roman Catholic Bishop of South Carolina, whose influence extended beyond his church, gave the first check to dueling in that State, and indeed in the South, by forming the leading gentlemen of the State into an Anti-Dueling Association. Society in South Carolina was then devoid of Puritanism, and was not divided along sectarian lines. I remember going in my boyhood with my mother, an earnest Episcopalian, to a night service in the Georgetown Methodist Church to hear an eloquent sermon delivered from a Protestant pulpit by this Roman Catholic Bishop, her countryman and guest, before an audience of whom nine-tenths were Protestants accompanied by their rectors or preachers.

Bishop England was the first, if not the only Roman Catholic priest who had the honor of being invited by Congress to preach in the House of Representatives. He was the author of many literary works. He established in Charleston the first Catholic journal in the South. The jurist, James L. Petigru, and a number of other public men of his time profited by his ecclesiastical and philosophical instruction. He was the founder of the Orphan Asylum and the early free schools of the city and was among the chief promoters of its charities.

He was beloved by all the cultured people of the State, and

no social or learned assembly in Charleston was complete that did not include this talented and genial Irishman.

He lived to a ripe old age with his maiden sister, dispensing the hospitality of his bachelor home to all the distinguished strangers visiting Charleston. His visitors found it a rare privilege to converse with him over a glass of Irish whisky or a bottle of Madeira, with which his cellar was kept well stocked by his numerous friends in those days of glorious old Charleston, enervated now, alas! by Puritanism that lacks the virtues of Puritanism.

Gratitude impels me to express my obligations to my friends, Joseph Thurston, at one time special partner in my commission business in New York, and Colonel D. L. McKay, the president of the Bank of Georgetown and afterward the president of the People's Bank in Charleston, who saved me from threatened bankruptcy when the business portion of the city of Georgetown was destroyed by fire and with it my stores and warehouses and most of my merchandise; and it is one of the happiest reflections of my life that I was able after the disasters of the Civil War to repay in kind, to a degree at least, these friendly services.

As already related, I had been put into a large business by wealthy parties, my own capital being quite inadequate. Conscious of my comparative inexperience, I laid my affairs open to the banking friends mentioned above, thus retaining their confidence and receiving their advice and support. One summer as I was lying ill of a bilious fever in Georgetown, Col. McKay called to see me and generously proposed that while I was confined to my bed, he should direct the cashier of his bank to pay any maturing notes which I, as the book-keeper of the firm, should specify; and that deposits of the daily income of the business should be made to the credit of these payments till I should be able to attend to them myself. I accepted this generous offer, which relieved me of an anxiety that the doctors had declared was increasing the malady. By the advice of the physicians I was removed to Charleston for a change of air, and after another attack in Charleston which

kept me in bed two weeks in a hotel, I returned to Georgetown to find that the whole business part of the city was in ashes—my own residence being destroyed by the fire and all my stores except one or two small package-storage buildings on the wharf.

That this fire was not my complete undoing was attributable in a large measure to a bit of foresight on my part which I describe here, since it may prove of value to young merchants.

In looking over the large supply of merchandise, much of it stored in wooden warehouses on my wharf, and large accounts embodying extensive yearly credits to my customers—who were planters and country merchants—I had been struck by the possible danger of a devastating fire in this combustible part of the business section of the town, whose only provision against such a calamity was a few hand engines. My fire insurance policy would protect me against total loss, to be sure, but I saw that if my account books, the only evidence of the larger part of my assets, were destroyed, I should be ruined beyond salvation. Therefore I posted up over my iron safe in the counting room, this printed notice: *"In case of fire on the premises, all parties are hereby requested before attempting to save any of the property, to have the Iron Safe and the account books in the counting room immediately sent, at any expense of time or money, to the city Arsenal"* (an isolated fire-proof building on the edge of the town). This very conspicuous order attracted a great deal of attention and caused no small amount of laughter at my expense. The conflagration already referred to took place a few months after, and laid that part of the town in ashes. But the clerks and a junior partner followed the printed directions and the books were saved, and with them the writer's ability to sustain, with the aid of his insurance, the heavy loss of merchandise, and so secure the credit necessary to rebuild the stores and stock them again.

Another eminent person who was closely associated with Georgetown was Mrs. Louisa S. McCord (daughter of Hon. Langdon Cleves and widow of Col. McCord), a typical

Southern woman, who was both essayist and poet, and who also translated a part of the works of the French economist, Bastiat, to read whose writings in the original I subsequently learned French. Mrs. McCord was the benefactress of her numerous slaves in health and their nurse in sickness; she conducted a hospital on her plantation and, on one occasion, in the absence of a surgeon, she set a slave's fractured arm. She replied in the *Westminster Review* to the allegations of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in a masterly manner.

On the Fourth of July, 1841, I made my first public address, having been appointed orator of the day by the Town Council of Georgetown. A military and civic parade marched from the old Town Hall through the principal streets to the venerable Methodist Church. There, arm in arm with the scholarly gentleman appointed to read the Declaration of Independence, I ascended the high, old-fashioned pulpit while the band played the soul-stirring hymn "Hail Columbia," and faced a large audience composed of ladies and gentlemen from all parts of an extensive district, as well as the members of my own battalion of the Thirty-first Regiment, who had but recently elected me their major. A fervent prayer by a devout and patriotic clergyman, the thrilling words of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence rendered by an accomplished reader, and last but not least, the soul-stirring notes of the national anthem, by which the Southern lyrist, Key of Maryland, has fired the loyal American heart on many a battle field (as another Southern lyrist, Randall of Georgia, afterward fired the Southern heart of the Confederacy), were well calculated to fill with dismay a young man not yet accustomed to public speaking; and I think I should have fainted as I rose to address my audience had it not been for their kindly applause, which they saw I needed. While recalling with pride and pleasure this incident in my early life, yet, after the lapse of sixty years, I find myself much sobered by the sad reflection that not five of those present on that occasion are now living.

Rev. Harvey M. Lance (an ex-rector of the parish Prince

George Winyah of Georgetown), with whom I was associated as a fellow-vestryman after he had resigned his rectorship, was a leader in every social and religious enterprise of the district and parish of Georgetown, and a prominent figure in the diocesan councils of the State, where his good judgment and conservatism exercised a controlling influence. His plantation house at Pee Dee was for many years the intellectual center of the life of Georgetown. In this connection I recall an incident not unlike that of the setting aside, by the courts of New York, of an important provision in the trusts of the will of Samuel J. Tilden, carefully drawn by himself, which goes to show that human language is quite helpless, where the conveyance of a large estate is concerned, against the ingenuity of lawyers who can command good fees. The wealthy relatives of Mrs. Lance, having a baseless prejudice against Mr. Lance, constructed, with the aid of one of the most astute legal lights in Charleston, a trust will in favor of Mrs. Lance and their children, by which Mr. Lance was not only cut off from any direct participation in the estate, but by which he was prevented from exercising any supervision over it. In due time Mr. Lance, deeming that he could manage the property for his children better than it was being managed, actually employed the same learned counsel who fabricated the stringent conditions of the will, to go into court and overthrow the very trusts he had so skillfully drawn. The result was that Mr. Lance was given full management of the estate, to its great advantage.

I was introduced by Mr. Lance to the Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., of Virginia. Dr. Slaughter was a typical Virginian of the old school, a learned, zealous, eloquent churchman, and a firm defender of the doctrine of State Rights, just beginning to be transformed into the heresy of State Sovereignty in retaliation for the aggressions of the fanatical New England Abolitionists. He was, by reason of his energy and eloquence, among the most popular and efficient spiritual powers in the Southern Episcopal Church, where he exerted an influence not unlike the influence exerted by Whitfield, in the early days, upon the

Methodist Church in Georgia. While visiting him at his lovely home in Fredericksburg I met the distinguished geologist and engineer Edmund Ruffin, who subsequently made himself odious at the North and shipwrecked his former well-earned reputation by foolishly asking and gaining permission to fire the first gun from Fort Sumter at the flag of his country. Dr. Slaughter died in 1890, and I was accorded the privilege of contributing, with my family and friends, to the erection in Virginia of a suitable monument to his memory.

In the summer of 1844, in company with Dr. Slaughter and Mr. Lance, I made a trip through New England, terminating at Newport, R. I., where I was presented by these clerical friends to the family of the lady whom I subsequently married—the Thurstons of Bond Street, New York.

On returning to New York after the New England tour we decided to go on an excursion up the Harlem Railroad—a completely new mode of transit from the City Hall into the rural districts of Westchester County. At the station in front of the Astor House, which was then the starting-point of the road, I remarked jocosely to my two friends who were about entering a forward car that if they were experienced railway travelers, like myself, they would take one of the rear cars for greater security against the frequent accidents of the times. Mr. Lance, with his usual good-natured irony, remarked laughingly to Mr. Slaughter, "Let us follow the advice of our venerable and experienced traveler," and we all took seats in the very last car of the train. Now, unfortunately, in passing over one of the highest embankments just outside of the city, the axle of our car broke and the car made a complete revolution, as it tumbled down the inclined plane of a fifty-foot embankment, and actually regained its proper position on the level below. Of course the somersault of the car produced broken legs and arms and other injuries, but no one was killed. I was among the wounded, being somewhat badly cut on the forehead. Indeed, I bear a scar as a remembrance of the accident to this day. I was escorted by my two friends, neither of whom had received a scratch, to the

Astor House, where the wound was attended to by a surgeon and pronounced not serious. But I could not refrain from telling my priestly friends that I was the vicarious offering to carry their sins.

July 9, 1846, I was married in St. Thomas' Church, New York, by Bishop Whitehouse, to Abby Pitman Thurston, eldest daughter of the banker, Charles M. Thurston.

On our wedding trip we went up the Erie Canal on a canal-boat to Niagara, where we stayed at the Cataract House. We also passed through Boston, stopping at the Revere House, kept by Paran Stevens, whose wife afterwards cut a figure in society. The Revere House had just eclipsed the Tremont House, which had hitherto been to Boston what the Astor House, which it resembled architecturally, was to New York. The morning following our arrival, my boots, which I had placed outside the door, were missing. It was the custom of this hotel to send the boots of its guests out to be polished (they were hung by their straps on a long pole and carried by a colored man through the city streets), and in some inexplicable way mine had been either lost or stolen. The hotel reimbursed me for my loss, of course, but somewhat reluctantly, since it considered the price I had paid, $20, excessive even for wedding boots.

While Mrs. Lathers and I were on our way north to New York, in May, 1847, we found the leading people of Charleston very much engaged in entertaining Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Webster. It is necessary at this point to go back a little. In 1822, or thereabouts, it was discovered that a dangerous conspiracy had been organized among the Charleston negroes by free negroes from the North posing as preachers. The leading gentlemen of the place were to be assassinated, the money in the banks was to be stolen, and such white ladies as were considered desirable for mistresses were to be seized. This done, the conspirators were to embark in some of the vessels at the wharves for San Domingo. It had long been the custom in Charleston, in case of fire, for the leading citizens to take horse and attend the fire as a sort of police. This well-

matured conspiracy contemplated setting fire to several sections of the city at once, and made it the duty of each negro hostler to shoot his master as he vaulted into the saddle, in order to deprive the city of its defense. Unluckily for the conspirators, one of their number, anxious to save his master and family, cautioned them in such a way that a full exposure followed. Several of the Northern and local conspirators were arrested and hanged. They made a full confession on the gallows.

In view of the constant menace of this kind of an outbreak and the open incitement of the slaves to murder by Northern fanatics, the Legislature enacted a law which prohibited the free negroes of other States from entering South Carolina unless they complied with the law, which required colored sailors coming into the State on vessels from Northern ports to be confined ashore under police regulations until their vessels were ready to leave. This law was enforced by very gentle means, and comfortable quarters given to the sailors while their vessels remained in the harbor. But the Abolition element, in no way connected with commerce, began to agitate the subject on the ground that these negroes were free citizens of free States, and had a right of visit and transit of which State laws or police regulations could not deprive them. A distinguished New England lawyer was sent to Charleston to contest the law, but found a hostile feeling too strong to encounter with personal safety, and returned home. Then Daniel Webster was employed to lay the matter before the United States District Court in Charleston, which he did, but without success. On the announcement of his appointment to this unwelcome mission, the principal lawyers determined that his visit should be made pleasant for him notwithstanding the hostile purpose of those employing him. Webster was the life-long friend of John C. Calhoun, and his career as a lawyer and a broad-minded statesman entitled him in their view to the fullest measure of Southern hospitality.

It was carefully arranged that a private dinner and a private ball should be given Mr. and Mrs. Webster every day and

evening of their visit. The leading families vied with each other in extending these courtesies, and the series was crowned by the most brilliant Bar Dinner which ever took place in Charleston, the principal speech of welcome being made by Mr. Webster's former antagonist in the Senate, Colonel Robert Y. Hayne. I had the honor of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Webster at one of these dinner parties. When the ladies had retired, our host produced a bottle of Madeira wine which he said had been bottled by his grandfather over seventy years before. One of the guests, a mathematician, after figuring on the back of a letter, remarked that if that bottle of wine was worth, when bottled, twenty-five cents, its present value at compound interest would reach over a hundred dollars.

At this moment a servant announced that the carriage was at the door to convey Mr. Webster to the ball given in his honor at Mrs. ——'s. A number of the guests went out to seat Mr. Webster in the carriage. One of them, while folding up the old-fashioned carriage step, found Mr. Webster's foot obstructing it and inquired if he desired to alight. "Yes," he replied quickly, "I want to go back and help our mathematical friend stop the interest on that damned expensive bottle of wine." The next day Mrs. Lathers and I embarked on the steamer for New York, and found Mr. and Mrs. Webster seated on two handsome stuffed chairs with an awning spread over them, which had been specially made for their comfort by order of the agent of the line. On a small table beside them which was screwed to the deck were a few glasses, a pitcher of ice water, a bottle of old brandy, and a basket of crackers and cheese. Of course, this group attracted the passengers irresistibly, and Mr. Webster's anecdotes and his observations on current events were the charm of the voyage. Mr. Webster seemed to relax greatly as he imbibed frequently the cheering fluid before him, and he gave out to his admiring audience reminiscences of senatorial contests in which Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Hayne came in for his profound admiration. The morning of the second day out, a passenger met him and

congratulated him on his early appearance on deck. He replied in a tone of much feeling:

"The morning is sweet, fresh, and delightful. Everybody knows that morning is applied metaphorically to many objects and to many occasions. The health, strength, and beauty of early years have given to that period the name of the morning of life. Of a young woman we say she is as bright as the morning, and no one doubts why Lucifer is called the son of the morning. But the morning, few of the inhabitants of cities know anything about. Among the people of Boston, not one in a thousand sees the morning sun once in a year. Their idea is that it is part of the day which comes along after a cup of coffee, a beefsteak, or a piece of toast. With them, morning is not a new issuing of light, a new bursting forth of the sun, a new waking up of all that has life from a sort of temporary death to behold again the works of God—the heavens and the earth. It is to them only a part of the domestic day belonging to breakfast, to reading the newspapers, answering notes, sending the children to school, and giving orders for dinner. The first faint streak of light, the earliest purpling of the east which the lark springs up to greet, and the deeper and deeper coloring into orange and red, till at length the glorious sun is seen, Regent of day—this they never enjoy; for this they have never seen. Beautiful descriptions of the morning abound in all languages, but they are the strongest, perhaps, in those of the East, where the sun is often an object of worship. King David speaks of taking to himself the wings of the morning. This is highly poetic and beautiful. The wings of the morning are the beams of the rising sun. Rays of light are wings. It is thus said that the Son of Righteousness shall arise, with healing in his wings, a rising sun which shall scatter light and health and joy throughout the universe. Milton has fine descriptions of morning, but not so many as Shakespeare, from whose writings pages of the most beautiful images, all founded on the glory of the morning, might be filled."

After this rhapsody he paused, as we were all electrified by his fervent eloquence, and in a lower voice resumed, "I know the morning, I am acquainted with it and love it, fresh and sweet as it is—a daily new creation breaking forth and calling all that have life and breath and being to new adoration, new enjoyment and new gratitude." Good memory that I have, I have, nevertheless, been able to recall Mr. Webster's language only by the aid of a private letter on the same subject with which I was afterward favored.

Mr. Webster's self-possession and commanding influence are verified by an anecdote told me by Moses Grinnel, his lifelong and intimate friend. The evening before his speech in front of the Exchange, he was receiving at the Astor House his hosts of admirers of both parties, when Grinnel and Simeon Draper (Whig leaders at that time) dropped in and whispered in his ear that his note for $10,000 in the Bank of America, of which they were the endorsers, would fall due the next day, expressing at the same time much regret for interrupting him during the reception. Mr. Webster, raising up his head and straightening his body to his full height, said with becoming dignity, "*Gentlemen, if it is due to-morrow, let it be paid,*" and it was paid by the endorsers, who had no time to enjoy the reception, but rushed about collecting, by contributions from their friends, the funds necessary to pay the obligation to the bank.

And here, in illustration of another phase of his character, I recall another anecdote.

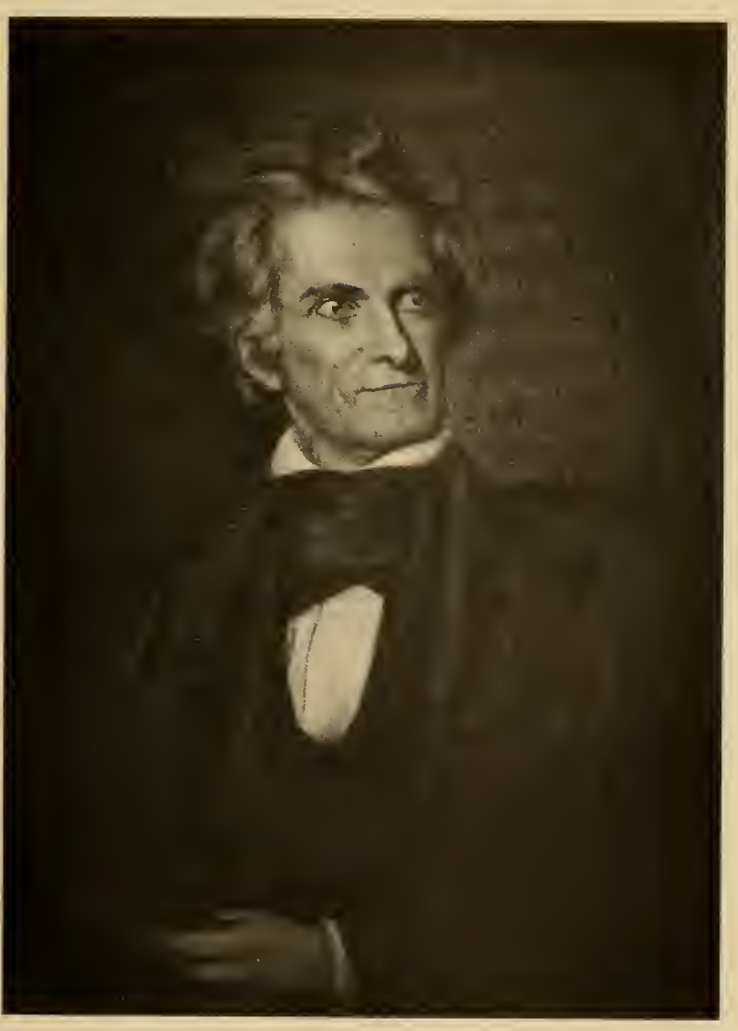
Mr. Calhoun, in the latter years of his life, was often absent from his seat in the Senate by reason of indisposition. When this happened, Mr. Webster would call at his lodgings to inquire as to his health and to relate to him the incidents transpiring during the session. On one of these occasions, finding he was in low spirits, he remarked: "Calhoun, physically, you give no evidence of declining health. You must be overanxious in money matters. Are you not in debt?" This question rather touched the dignity of Calhoun. Webster observing this, took him by the hand and

in the most soothing manner said, "Calhoun, there must be no undue display of dignity between us. We came into Congress about the same period and have continued there many years representing conflicting opinions which have often drawn us into heated sectional debates. But during these debates not one word of personal invective has ever escaped our lips."

Calhoun, deeply moved by these remarks, replied, "I appreciate deeply your friendly remarks and will respond to your question in the spirit in which it is made. I am in debt, but I am not insolvent. The fact is, on returning home from your New England College, I attempted to pursue the law, a profession for which I had been trained, but my fellow citizens, as was the case with yours, shoved me into public life, from which I have never retired. While my family was small, the income of my inherited estate was ample for my modest expenditures. But later on the family increased and expenses also. I was compelled to place a mortgage on my plantation and to rely largely upon my salary as Senator to meet my expenses. And, perhaps, as you seemed to judge, I was anticipating that in case of my death and the loss of my income as Senator my family would be compelled to dispose of our homestead." Webster then said, "How much is the mortgage?" "Twenty thousand dollars," Calhoun replied. "My dear friend, you are too valuable to our country to have any anxiety about such a paltry sum as $20,000. I will by twelve o'clock to-morrow raise the sum and cancel the mortgage—even if it were twice as large."

Mr. Calhoun responded his thanks with great emotion, adding, "You have placed me under an obligation I can never repay, but how could a Carolina United States Senator degrade himself by accepting such a charity?" "Ah," said Webster, "Nature should have made you a Puritan of New England and me Cavalier of South Carolina; for I would have drunk their Madeira wine and borrowed their money to keep pace with their utmost liberality."

Mr. Calhoun, a short time before his death, while giving his estimate of his great New England opponent before a large



JOHN C. CALHOUN

In his maturity, from a portrait owned by Robert N. Gourdin, Esq., Charleston, S. C. (Artist unknown)

company of statesmen, remarked, "Of all the leading men of the day in any country, Daniel Webster's political career has been more strongly marked by a strict regard for truth and honor than any leading man of the age."

On the other hand, Webster's eulogy of Calhoun, delivered in the Senate, April 1, 1850, contained the following passage:

"Calhoun's eloquence was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, terse, strong, condensed, concise, sometimes impassioned, still always severe. He was a man of undoubted genius, and of commanding talent. All the country and all the world admit that. He had the basis, the indispensable basis of all high character; and that was unspotted integrity and unimpeached honor. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, I do not believe he had a selfish motive or a selfish feeling. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. However he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name."

I insert here three of Calhoun's letters, which have come into my hands, the last (written to his eldest son, who was a planter in Marengo County, Alabama) having been presented me by his grandson as an example of his interest in farming and in his family:

"WASHINGTON, 31 May, 1826.

"HON. M. STERLING,

"*My Dear Sir:*—I received duly your two letters of the 17th March and 2nd May, which I would have acknowledged at an earlier period, had I not been prevented by the laborious sittings of the Senate and the indisposition of my family. It is now no longer doubted that we are on the eve of a great political struggle, which the papers in the interest of Mr. Adams and Clay attribute to 'factious oppo-

sition,' but which, if I do not greatly mistake, springs from causes far deeper. I do not believe it possible for any body of men, however great their talents and strenuous their efforts, to rear up a powerful opposition to the Executive of the Union, unless there be cause for discontent. A state may be easily excited, but nothing can be more difficult than to produce a general discontent over the whole of our widely extended and diversified country. Not only causes for discontent must exist, but they must be powerful ones; such as in the opinion of the people are calculated to endanger liberty, or arrest the national prosperity. The present general discontent originates in such causes. There are many, and they among the cool and vigilant observers of events, who do sincerely believe, that the liberty of this country was never in greater danger than at present. Such I confess is my own impression. If we examine attentively the structure of our government, we will see how easy it is for it to slide into Monarchy. The power of the executive is already kingly, and in that, which, in modern times, gives danger to power, patronage, it is almost without restriction. The executive is not Kingly in the extent of its power, but in its organization. It is one, a monarch, in the strict meaning of the term. How then can we with propriety call a government thus organized in its executive branch, a Republick? It is a question deeply important, and which ought to be carefully solved by the American people. It is only because it (the executive power) is dependent on the people; or in other words, because he who exercises it, must be raised to power and continued there by the popular voice. It is *this responsibility*, which makes *it democratick*. Let the power remain the same, but suppose the President to be vested with the power of nominating his successor, and it is manifest, that our government would no longer be a republick. That single change would make it a Monarchy, because the power of the Executive would no longer be under responsibility to the people. Let us again suppose, a state of things a little short of this, a state in which a combination of influential men aided by the power and

patronage of the Executive and the defects in the mode of election, can designate the Chief Magistrate. It is clear, in this state of things, it would be mocking to call our government a republick. Responsibility to the people would be gone. They would gradually become insignificant with the loss of power; and the whole aim of those in power would be to form combinations by enlisting and proscribing such as might favor the views of those in power, or oppose, in order to strengthen, or perpetuate that power. In a short time, the system would work into a state of perfect putrefaction, and the honor and emoluments of office would be considered only as instruments of bribery. How far are we removed from the commencement of this state of things? The final issue of the last election depended on a combination in the House of Representatives. He who headed it has been placed by the power created by his own efforts in the line of safe presidents. He has gone over from the side of the people to the side of power, from the speaker's chair to the Department of State; and the translation has been made under circumstances calculated deeply to impair his *popularity* as acknowledged by all, friends and foes. If the Presidency can only be reached by the popular voice, and if that be his aim, folly must have been his counsellor. He is too sagacious to take advice of such a counsellor. What then is left for inference? That in the opinion of the Secretary the power of the executive is such, as it relates to the object of his ambition, that it is more than sufficient to compensate his loss of popularity; or that the road to the Presidency is not by the voice of the people, but by the power of the Executive. Has not every act of the President and the Secretary conformed to this theory? I need not particularize, for it seems not even contradicted, that offices are bestowed to make partisans, and for that purpose only. If such in fact be the true state of things, it is manifest that a most fatal blow is aimed at liberty, not with a view to *destroy liberty,* but to *acquire power;* and as this is seen and understood, we must not be surprised, that our publick counsels should be deeply agitated. The struggle, I do believe, is between liberty and

power; and as I have taken my side fearlessly, I must expect the natural consequences, bitter and deep denunciations. Who ever opposed power without encountering such or worse consequences? I am content. I am prepared to fall or rise with the cause. It is with me an old cause. In opposing the caucus, the choice of electors by state legislatures, the control of juntas, or political leaders, I was actuated by the principles that now guide me. It has ever been the object dearest to me to procure the ascendency of the popular voice in our system; and next to it, to give a wise direction to movements of the government so as to fulfil the object of its creation. Wherever these great objects lead, there will I ever be found.

"With sincere regard,

"I am,

"J. C. CALHOUN."

"PENDLETON, 20th Sept., 1826.

"To HON. M. STERLING,

"*My Dear Sir:*—I read with much interest your letter of the 4th of August, in most of the views of which I entirely accord. I have had a severe process to go through; but, I trust, I have passed it like one conscious of having truth and duty on his side. It does seem to me, that the great point of attack, I mean the discussion on order in the Senate, was selected by my opponents merely with a view to temporary advantage, without looking to remote consequences. That my decision was right, and that the principles on which it rests are indispensable to the preservation of the freedom of debate cannot be doubted by anyone, who will take the trouble calmly to weight the arguments. That such is the impression through the whole South, I do not doubt; and, if it is not that of the North now, it must finally be. You know the deep confidence, which I have ever reposed in the force of truth, and that I have ever moved in the path, which I conceived that it directed. I feel no diminution of this confidence notwithstanding the success of my opponents in making an impression against me in the first instance. Of nothing am I more certain than that

ultimately, I will be (for all that has occurred), more deeply fixed in the good opinion of the people. To the South, my course has been almost unanimously supported. I do not in the least doubt, but that the present political state of things will terminate in three years. It ought. The blow struck at the principles of the government, if not parried, must prove fatal. The highest power, and that on which all others are dependent must not be disposed of by the *coalition, or management of politicians.* It must be by the gift of the people. If not, our system will prove in time the most corrupt that ever existed. The richest body becomes the most putrid in a decayed state, so the best system, if the vital principle departs, becomes the most corrupt. Of this you have had some experience in New York; and, if there, where the patronage is small and the objects inconsiderable, such be the fruits, what think you must it be in the disposition of the millions of the Union, with all of its honors?

"For acting on these views, I have been denounced. Let them denounce! It is no more than what I expected, and only proves, how strong the principle of corruption has already taken hold. My oppositon to the Congress caucus and the coalition rests on the same great principle, and I am prepared to bear in so great a cause.

"We find the climate here under our mountains delightful. We are all well; and Mrs. C—— and her mother desire their best respects to you. Make mine to Mrs. S——. How is J. C. Sterling? "J. C. C.

"I will rejoice to see P—— and your brother again in Congress. If you write to either make my best respects to them."

"Fort Hill, 16th Oct., 1846.

"My Dear Andrew:

"Your letters of the 16th and 24th of last month came by the same mail, a week since, and brought the agreeable intelligence of the continued and uninterrupted good health of the place, to a period so late, that I hope all danger has passed. The severe trial of the year, acknowledged

to be one of the most sickly, gives good ground to believe that you have had the good fortune of selecting a spot, combining the rare advantages of a low latitude, great fertility and good health. It is difficult to say how much value it adds to the place. The continuance of the health of yourself and family and the complete restoration of Patrick's, of which I learned by his last letter, relieved me from much anxiety. I am glad to hear that your prospect of a cotton crop continues so good, and that you have suffered comparatively little by the worm, whose ravages I hope have stopped ere this. There are some indications of them in my cotton, and I understand they have done much mischief in the State. If the accounts from Florida are to be trusted they have done more damage there than any where else. Taking it altogether the prospect is a short crop and good prices.

"Our election is over. Butler is elected by a small majority (147) owing to a division of the vote between Norris and Powell, the latter of whom could not be induced to withdraw. Haygood (Federal) beat Barton, Republican by 14 only for the State Senate. It is said the election will be contested, on account of bad votes. Your Uncle John, who was also a candidate, got less than 200 votes. The Harrison Federal party carried in this district all their candidates except one to the House of Representatives, Col. Hunter. In Greenville, the opposite ticket prevailed throughout by a large majority. I have not heard from the other parts of the State yet. There is no doubt, however, of almost perfect union in the State.

"I am waiting according to your advice for frost before I set out. As yet we have had none though a great deal of cool weather. It is now raining and has been for the last fifteen hours with a prospect of continuing as much longer. The probability is it will be followed by cold weather and frost. If it should, I will lose no time in setting out. I cannot fix the day, as that depends on the weather. Should it turn cold enough for frost, you may send your carriage to Selma, in time for me to get there going by Dahlonega and allowing one or two days on the road. I will take the stage to there and

thence by the nearest and quickest stage routes. You need not send before frost, as I do not think it would be prudent to venture before. John will probably accompany me.

"As I hope it will be but a short time before we meet, I will postpone what I had to say on politics and other subjects till then. All join in sending their love to you and Margaret. I am glad to hear that Duff thrives so well and is so promising, I shall be quite curious to see him.

"Your affectionate father,

"JOHN C. CALHOUN.

"A. P. CALHOUN, ESQ."

An account of the meeting which was held at Georgetown during "Court Week," in the spring of 1848, to elect a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore is now in order, and for a proper understanding of this meeting a word regarding the judicial organization of South Carolina is necessary. The State was divided into judicial districts (instead of counties) in which courts were held semi-annually. Court week, as it was called, came to be a time for the assembling not only of jurors, lawyers, and litigants, but also of the commissioners having charge of the various public departments (such as roads and charities), and of public men generally, for civic and political purposes. In short, court week served to bring together, semi-annually, the leading citizens, many of them country gentlemen, of a large district. Although my friends and I had actively agitated, by newspaper paragraphs and personal letters, the necessity of electing a delegate to the National Convention at this time, we had evoked no response beyond a half-hearted admission of the propriety of the proceeding, by reason of a widespread fear of the attitude of the Charleston and Columbia Junta, which four years before had actually prevented elected delegates from attending the convention. We had to resort, therefore, to a harmless trick to prevent any hostile interruption, and had accordingly called a meeting at the court house for two o'clock, which was the hour the court adjourned for dinner. At this

hour "the conspirators," as we were called, six in number, came together: Colonel McKay, president of the bank; Eleazer Waterman, a shipping merchant and proprietor and editor of the Winyah *Observer,* the Union organ; William J. Howard, the Clerk of the Court then sitting; General James M. Commander, the leader of the cavalry forces; Dr. O. M. Roberts, a prominent physician; and myself.

When the court adjourned, the judge, lawyers, jurors, and litigants, although leaving their seats, remained in the hall, which was packed with spectators who had come to amuse themselves with the ridiculous failure which had been prognosticated for the meeting. A few partisan leaders were there, ready to antagonize the action proposed when its advocate should have delivered his address. Immediately after the adjournment of the court I rose with youthful assurance and, in a most patronizing manner, thanked the judge for his courtesy in adjourning the court for the accommodation of the meeting and for his personal presence thereat, it being highly important for Southern interests that all the good citizens of the State should participate in the effort to co-operate with the other Southern States in a national convention. I then said, "Gentlemen, this meeting has been called specifically and solely for the purpose of selecting a delegate to represent this congressional district in the Democratic Convention to be held in Baltimore. The subject has been largely discussed throughout the district by our journals, as well as orally, and this large gathering shows how thoroughly this Democratic district is in accord with its brethren in the other Southern States in their desire to co-operate in protecting the interests of the South in the Baltimore Convention." I then said in a loud voice, "I nominate our distinguished fellow citizen, Dr. O. M. Roberts, Chairman of this meeting." Col. McKay promptly seconded the nomination, which was unanimously carried by the votes of the five friends, given with becoming energy. On taking the chair, the doctor modestly tendered his thanks for the honor, and then said, "It is next in order to elect a secretary." Col. McKay nominated my old friend and schoolmate William

J. Howard. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Waterman, and Mr. Howard was elected with the same admirable unanimity. I then arose and nominated, with suitable remarks, Gen. James M. Commander as the delegate to represent the Congressional district in the Baltimore convention. This was also seconded and unanimously approved by the same earnest supporters of the cause. Just here a great disappointment came to our large audience, and especially to a few orators who had been waiting for an opportunity to demoralize the meeting as soon as the usual speeches were made by its promoters. I once more took the floor and, after commending the officers for their services, their presence, and their sympathy, and thanking the judge again for his courtesy in favoring us with his presence, moved that the meeting be adjourned *sine die;* the motion was carried with the former unanimity, and the throng dispersed for dinner. We congratulated our delegate on having the honor of being the first representative from the State to the National Convention. The politicians had been taught a valuable lesson.

I went to Baltimore a day or two before the assembling of the convention, and laid before the delegations from the other Southern States the importance of the movement for Southern co-operation, and suggested that as General Commander was the only delegate from his State, it was both proper and politic to give him the right to cast the nine votes to which the State was entitled. In this I was sustained by most of the Northern delegations favoring the South. The reports of the contests in the convention created much amusement, and when General Commander was called on to vote for a measure, or a candidate, he would arise with great dignity and in a loud voice declare, "South Carolina casts nine votes for this measure or this candidate." It was this which led John Van Buren, when his father was defeated for the presidency on the Free Soil ticket, to say, *"It is humiliating indeed to be flogged by that Carolina cat of nine tails from Georgetown, South Carolina, wielding the suffrage of his whole State against its aristocracy."*

CHAPTER II

OLD NEW YORK DAYS

During my visits to the North I had the pleasure of being entertained, on various occasions, by two merchant princes and neighbors doing business in New York and residing on Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn Heights,—Edward Anthony and George Hastings. Mr. Hastings was the intimate friend of Dr. Vinton, and the senior warden of his Brooklyn church. Mr. Hastings' palatial residence was among the first of the modern Gothic structures in the Heights district; visitors were constantly calling to examine it, and my room was exhibited as their guest chamber. Mr. Anthony (originally from Rhode Island and the brother of Senator Anthony) and his lovely Philadelphia Quaker wife were social leaders in that part of Brooklyn. I remember as one of Mr. Anthony's intimate friends, the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Cox, father of Bishop Cox, the learned and genial pastor of the leading Presbyterian church in New York, who was obliged to resign his charge because of his violent Abolition addresses and sermons. Among the many pleasant personages I met at the home of Mr. Anthony was Mr. Joseph C. Neal, editor and publisher of the celebrated *Neal's Gazette,* and author of a variety of social studies, of which the "Charcoal Sketches" is yet esteemed by many for its philosophy and wit. Mr. Neal was a delightful companion and a most fascinating correspondent, as may be inferred from the fact that his courtship with his accomplished wife was entirely by letter. This lady was educated at the celebrated Female Seminary in Troy, N. Y., and while still at school ventured to send Mr. Neal's paper a poetical composition anonymously. This led to a literary correspondence ending in a marriage. After Mr. Neal's death, Mrs. Neal continued the publication of the *Gazette* for many

years with great success, and wrote besides many amusing works.

In the autumn of 1842 I witnessed the grand celebration in honor of the introduction of Croton water into the city of New York, a celebration which New York has probably never equaled since. The day was superb. Not only was the whole population in the streets, but all the surrounding cities seemed to have joined in the festivities. The procession extended over five miles. In addition to the various military regiments, were some fifty fire companies with red shirts, gorgeous engines, and brilliant banners, and mechanical societies with their respective implements of industry—the printers being engaged in printing a programme of the celebration on their presses, one of which was the identical hand-press used by Benjamin Franklin. The butchers, all mounted on fine horses, presented a remarkable aspect.

In 1899 I witnessed the tearing down of the noble stone Reservoir at Fifth Avenue and Fortieth, Forty-first and Forty-second Streets, to make room for the proposed Public Library edifice, which it is to be hoped will survive more than sixty years in this city of change.

Thus the landmarks of one's life are destroyed. Nothing is respected in New York by the onward march of trade, not even the churches; and the elaborate exercises of laying their corner stones and the sacred ceremonies of their dedication to the worship of Almighty God, should include this proviso: "till the property becomes more valuable for trade than for Christian worship."

Many timid citizens had serious misgivings regarding the large bonded debt which the Croton system necessitated. Could they be here now to see that this municipal property produces a good deal over a million of dollars of income to the city, besides serving its convenience and security, they would quickly recognize the fallacy of their early views. The wisdom of public improvements like this and the Central Park, which may well challenge the admiration of the world, was largely questioned when they were projected, by the over-

conservative taxpayers. I must admit that I myself was short-sighted enough not to approve of the project for Central Park (though I did not actually oppose it), and now I regard my residence opposite this park as my most precious possession.

In 1846, the year of my marriage, to which reference has already been made, Bond Street was almost exclusively a social center. It extended from Broadway to the Bowery, a single long block in which lived Dr. John W. Francis; Rev. Dr. Spring; C. M. Thurston, the banker; General Dix; Ex-Postmaster Coddington; Ex-Collector of the port of New York Morgan; the Pell family; the Ward family (including the celebrated Julia Ward Howe, daughter of the banker and society leader Samuel Ward); the Sampson family, among the first to have a picture gallery in New York; the brothers Parmly; the popular Guilbert Davis, called by his sporting friends "Governor of Coney Island"; and George Griffin, a lawyer whose talented daughter married General Veile. I have the pleasantest recollection of my relations with the statesman and soldier, General John A. Dix, and his accomplished wife, who were the intimate and valued friends and neighbors of my wife's family, and among the particular guests at my wedding breakfast.

I passed many delightful hours in General Dix's library poring over his architectural and horticultural books and consulting him with regard to the construction of a cottage villa which I chanced to be planning at the same time that he was planning a similar summer residence. Gen. Dix, though a very busy man, found time for the appreciation of poetry, music, and art, and for the pleasures of society. His manners toward all classes and ages were of the gentlest; he made even children forget in his company the dignity of his position.

While he was Minister to the Court of the Emperor Louis Napoleon, I returned one cold, rainy day, to my rooms at my hotel in Paris, to find him on his knees in front of the parlor grate blowing the dull embers of the fire into a blaze. My daughter informed me that the General had called shortly

after I left the hotel, and that they had persuaded him to remain until my return. The amiable visitor had picked up from the table a copy of "Alice in Wonderland" and amused them, not only by reading, but by illustrating the subject for them. The fire getting low, he begged them not to ring for the servant, as he would fix it himself.

General Dix's talented son (now the Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church), and my brother-in-law, Dr. Henry Thurston (who afterward volunteered as a surgeon in the Civil War and died soon after peace was declared, through having undermined his constitution in the service), were intimate friends and classmates. Another young man of Bond Street intimate with the preceding two was Col. Ward—afterward Gen. Ward—who led the Twelfth Regiment into the field in defense of the Union.

I must not forget to mention in this connection Ward McAllister—afterward the greatly beloved leader of the New York "four hundred"—a modern Beau Brummell, who has left no worthy successor.

The name of Dr. Francis cannot be passed over lightly in any account of the Bond Street of the forties. Indeed I pride myself on being able to name him among my especial Bond Street friends. The genial weakness of believing himself to look like Franklin was often attributed to Dr. Francis; and, indeed, he did resemble that great philosopher not only in his outward appearance, but in the character of his intellect. He was a valued friend of Washington Irving, Daniel Webster, Prescott Hall, Philip Hone, Fenimore Cooper, Evert A. Duyckinck, James G. King the banker, Chancellor Kent, Bishop Wainwright, and General Dix. I had the pleasure of meeting in Dr. Francis' hospitable parlor and dining room most of these celebrated men; but I was too young at that time to contract any degree of intimacy with the majority of them. I recall with profit, however, many of their opinions on the questions of that period; for such groups as frequented the house of Dr. Francis did not occupy the time with discussions of the stock exchange or the probable success of political

parties. Indeed, machine politics and party bosses had not yet taken the place of the Albany Regency and Tammany Hall.

There was an intimacy between the families of this Bond Street group which no longer exists in any group in New York. They had settled on property intended to be kept free by carefully-drawn titles from all business occupancy. The houses were brick and marble, and were of the most ornate character. Back of each was a stable fronting on an alleyway for the use of the carriages and the servants. A few years after my marriage, in the very same parlor of No. 7 Bond Street in which I received the wedding guests, I stood to be measured for a suit of clothes by a fashionable tailor who had acquired the property as a valuable stand for business, in derogation of the exclusion of trade in the title. The failure of this attempt at exclusiveness shows the futility of trying to tie up property for any purpose whatsoever in a mercantile city like New York, where the churches dedicated to Almighty God are but leaseholds pending a rise in the market value of lots for business.

New York society, Bond Street apart, in the early forties was made up mainly of families of professional men and merchants of Dutch and English ancestry.

The leading citizens of this period—as I recall them—were Charles A. Davis, D. S. Kennedy, S. P. Gerard, Moses H. Grinnel, S. B. Ruggles, R. H. Blatchford, John Ward, Samuel Ward, Simon Draper, Charles H. Russell, Ogden Hoffman, James W. Gerard, Dr. J. W. Francis, Edward Curtis, General John A. Dix, Robert B. Minturn, Philip Hone, Prosper M. Whitmore, Philip Van Rensselaer, Daniel Lord, Jr., James T. Brady, John Van Buren, Charles O'Conor, Francis B. Cutting, John Duer, Chancellor Kent, George Griffin, Charles Clinton, Thomas Tillotson, William B. Astor, Albert Gallatin, John Jay, W. H. Aspinwall, Rev. Dr. Wainwright, George Griswold, James Brown, George Wood, Abraham Ogden, Jonathan Goodhue, David B. Ogden, Frederick de Peyster, Robert Ray, Frederick Prime, and James G. King.

It was their custom to dine together rather informally in little congenial parties, and they talked not of stocks and the latest fads of the fashionables, but of science, literature, the drama, and public affairs. The vulgar term "boss" did not then exist, nor did any party recognizing ring domination. Being an earnest Democrat, I found myself much alone, for the Whigs regarded themselves as the respectable part of these gatherings, and a Tammany Democrat had to give other vouchers than his party affiliations for his respectability. I recall an illustration of this attitude given at one of these dinners by a distinguished Democrat. He was riding in a stage coach with Henry Clay, he said, when a discussion arose as to the relative respectability of the political parties of the day. Upon looking out of the window, Mr. Clay espied a drunken man, whom he fancied to be a frail Democrat straggling along the road. He stopped the stage and said, "My good fellow, we have a bet here as to your politics." The man, true to the reputation of the Whig party for moral elevation, stutteringly replied, "I am sorry, gentlemen, to admit, while in this state, that I am a Whig."

The prominent capitalists of this period were content with their modest fortunes, and would have scorned to increase them by the corrupt practices of the adventurers of to-day who, by legislative frauds, seize the land and capital of the people. The Goulds and the Vanderbilts had not yet reaped the harvests of their successful but scantly honest speculations. Indeed, Cornelius Vanderbilt was still the captain of a steamboat running to Newport and elsewhere. The Astors and the Goelets were already the millionaires of New York, having inherited fortunes derived from the wonderful advance in land values; but even the Astor estate could not have compared in magnitude with those of the railway and mining millionaires of the present. August Belmont was just emerging from the agency of a French banking house and entering society with the glamorous reputation of having been wounded in a duel with a young Southerner.

Robert L. Stewart was laying the foundation of his wealth

by manufacturing and selling pure candy to the rising generation. Peter Cooper, now the most loved and cherished of all these men of affairs, was just beginning, by his glue factory, his iron mines, and his foundry, to amass that fortune by means of which thousands of young men and women have been prepared for useful careers. A. T. Stewart had just finished his palatial marble dry goods store at the corner of Chambers Street and Broadway and was rapidly acquiring his title of "the merchant prince" by a broad and well-matured business policy. Mr. Stewart originally lived in De Pau Row, as it was called, in Bleecker Street. Later he purchased the northern Fifth Avenue corner of East Thirty-fourth Street. The corresponding corner of West Thirty-fourth Street across the Avenue was occupied by a rather palatial dwelling erected by a retired dealer in notions. Shortly after this mansion was finished, I was walking down town with a friend, who remarked that he would like to see the interior. "We will go right in," I said; "a gentleman who builds so fine a house will surely be flattered by a request to visit it." The bell brought to the door the owner, who promptly expressed his willingness to gratify our curiosity, and when we entered the vaulted music-room he gave us a specimen of its acoustic properties by singing in a very loud, cathedral voice a stanza of the Doxology—a selection which he explained to us was quite in character, since his wife was the daughter of a Bishop. Mr. Stewart subsequently purchased this property with the intention of making additions and improvements; but on finding, after he had spent considerable money, that the walls were settling because the foundation was defective, he determined to buy more land and erect thereon a veritable palace.

About this time he visited the ornate marble store which our mutual friend, Wilson G. Hunt, had just completed down town, and was so pleased with it that he requested Mr. Hunt to send him his architect, who was then engaged in building the expensive marble court house which cost the city so dear by reason of the machinations of the Tweed Ring. The archi-

tect at Mr. Stewart's request drew up a plan for a dwelling and presented it. "Is that the best you can do for a fine mansion?" asked Mr. Stewart.

"Oh, not at all. I could design a palace if you were willing to build it."

"Very well, let me see your taste."

In a few days the architect presented another plan. "Now that is something like. What will it cost?"

"I can hardly tell that," said the architect, "without carefully estimating."

"See what you can do for a million."

"Oh! that would be ample," replied the delighted architect, and the million-dollar house was built.

My acquaintance with Mr. Stewart originated in business dealings with him before I removed from South Carolina.

In his business Mr. Stewart had a marvelous memory for details. I was one day leaving his store with my wife when he accosted her, saying, "I hope, Mrs. Lathers, you have found what you came for." "No, Mr. Stewart," she replied; "I wanted a very plain Brussels carpet for a small library, light color with a small blue figure, but while you have a great variety, you have nothing of that description." He replied, "I am quite sure we have one of that exact description," and turning to a clerk he said, "Go to the third floor and get out from the last invoice of carpets No. 2206. I think the style and pattern will just meet the description of this lady." And it did exactly, to our unbounded surprise.

In going from my country place to business by the New Haven Railroad, I often walked from the Grand Central Depot as far as Mr. Stewart's immense dry goods palace opposite Grace Church in Broadway. I would wait for him there while he gave his morning directions to his clerks, after which I would ride down to his Chambers Street store with him, whence his driver would take me to my William Street office. On one of these occasions, amazed by the ease and expedition with which he dispatched his varied duties, I remarked, as we entered the carriage, "Mr. Stewart, it must sometimes make

you feel sad to reflect that this stupendous and unique business structure must be lost to the public when you pass away." "Oh, no," he replied, "not at all; the business will be continued in accordance with my plans." I said, "Mr. Stewart, I do not want to be guilty of offering you the commonplace compliment of intimating that you are the only man possessed of so much mercantile ability. I only meant that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another man with the capacity, taste, and capital necessary for a business the magnitude and success of which are unequaled in any country." "Yes," he replied, "that may be so, but you forget that the machine is made, and I have the engineer ready to take my place." "I am aware," I replied, "that you refer to Judge Hilton. He is a clever lawyer, but trade demands other qualifications besides legal ability, and first among these is experience." "Well," replied Mr. Stewart, "that is just what, as an apt scholar, Judge Hilton is acquiring, and the art of trading is simple. Perhaps you would like to know how I laid the foundation of my success." I replied that I would. "Then I will tell you," said he. "It was by doing exactly the opposite of what you have probably done; for instance, when you have a consignment of cotton, rice, or sugar, to sell, how do you manage?" "Why, of course," I replied, "I ask the highest price the market will bear." "That is not my habit," said Mr. Stewart. "I study to put my goods on the market at the lowest price I can afford and secure a reasonable profit. In this way I limit competition and increase my sales; and, although I realize only a small profit on each sale, the enlarged area of business thus secured makes possible a great accumulation of capital and assures the future."

Mr. Stewart's uncle had educated him for the church, but on finishing his studies he requested his uncle—so he had told me—to aid him with a little capital in order that he might buy Irish linens, laces, insertions, and other dress trimmings to be sold in America. His success was immediate. He opened a small store in Greenwich Street, displaying his Irish fabrics, along with some domestic calicoes, which he purchased on the

eastern side of the city and carried to his store on his own shoulders; for goods at that time were not delivered by the seller, and he wished to save cartage. After a year of good business his landlord advanced his rent. He threatened to surrender the premises, but, deciding that the expense of moving and the loss of trade involved would be greater than the increase in rent, he remained. The landlord advanced his rent again at the end of another year, and this time, feeling that he was being imposed on, he moved to Broadway, nearly opposite the marble building on the corner of Chambers Street, where he realized a large part of his enormous fortune.

While he was still in his little Greenwich Street shop he heard his salesman one day inform an old lady that the calico there before them cost twenty-five cents a yard, but that he would sell it to her at twenty cents. Pleased with the reduction, the old lady purchased the dress pattern and retired, whereupon Mr. Stewart said to the salesman, "Jeemes, is it necessary to lie to do our business?" "Oh," said the salesman, "that is only the usage in dealing with the accomplished shoppers who are in the habit of beating down." "Oh, yes, I know it," said Mr. Stewart, "but you must never practice that usage in my store again."

How ephemeral is all this mercantile glory! Mr. Stewart left a magnificent property, and yet, in twenty-five years after his death, both his fame and his fortune had passed away. His very grave was rifled, and his body has never been recovered.

In August, 1896, the public was startled by the announcement in the morning papers that Hilton, Hughes & Co., the successors of A. T. Stewart & Co., had made an assignment and that the store was accordingly closed. My fears as expressed to Mr. Stewart many years before as to the inability of a lawyer to fill the place of a skillful, experienced, and successful merchant, were thus verified. Ah, 'tis all but a dream at the best! Even the palatial marble residence Mr. Stewart built for himself on Fifth Avenue seems predestined to misfortune. It has ceased to be known by his name, and, as

the Manhattan Club, is for some reason unsuccessful and will probably be abandoned.

I once suggested to Mr. Stewart, half in jest and half in earnest, that his mansion would furnish a lasting monument to his memory if he would will it to the city as a mayoralty mansion. But he replied that he did not slave in business to decorate the municipality.

I desire here to call attention to the Clarendon Hotel, on Fourth Avenue, corner of Eighteenth Street, recently closed. It was built in 1848 by Mr. Ruggles, a prominent and enterprising citizen. Its early career did not presage its later popularity. It was considered too far up town for the convenience of business men, inasmuch as there was no city railway and only one omnibus line, owned by Brower, running from a point in Broadway opposite Bond Street to the Astor House. The fare was ten cents. There were no straps for passengers without seats, and no gentleman was expected to enter when the seats were all occupied.

Under its first lessee, Mr. Putnam, the Clarendon was by no means a first-class hostelry, though it was perfectly respectable. The table waiters were raw country girls, and the cuisine left much to be desired. But under the management of Mr. Kerner (a German ex-steward of the Union Club), the successor of Mr. Putnam, it speedily became one of the finest hotels in the country. The table service was exceedingly well organized. The waiters marched from the pantry in military order to place the food on the table and, after removing the covers of the dishes, marched in the same manner to deposit them on the side tables before waiting on the guests. The dinner was served punctually at a fixed hour, and those not present at any course lost it—for the courses were brought on with as much regularity as at a private dinner. The guests found their own wines, however, and courteously exchanged with one another. Chambermaids and hallboys were rewarded for their industry and fidelity by the boarders, but tips to table waiters were unknown. There was no bar or cigar-stand for loungers, and no stranger was expected to visit the

hotel without sending his card, as a caller, to some guest. A couple of neatly furnished rooms (minus rocking chairs, then considered a rural equipment), adjoining the hall were devoted to smoking, and in one of these was a kind of counter with a marble top on which stood a few tumblers and a receptacle for ice water. Under this counter was a locked closet containing wines, liquors, and cigars, to be produced by a waiter stationed there only when a boarder requested them; for visitors were regarded as the guests of their friends, and were not expected to call for or pay for anything in the way of entertainment. After dinner, and after the theater, these smoking rooms were always filled. Among the prominent persons to be found smoking and taking a friendly glass together there were Wilson G. Hunt, Ward McAllister, General Hancock, Governor Hoffman, Charles Clinton, George B. Doer, Dr. Ellridge, Prof. E. J. Phelps, Ex-President Pierce, Ex-Governor Marshall, Mr. Adee, Mr. David Jones, Mr. Rhinelander, and, from time to time, such diplomats as Lord Ellsmere, Lord Napier, Sir Edward Thornton, the Russian Minister Bodeska, and Baron Steckel. The register of the hotel shows that seven diplomats had rooms there the same night. The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia visited this headquarters of international goodfellowship for the relaxation of a cigar and a glass of the best wine in the city after the tiresome formalities of public receptions. This fact made the Clarendon popular with travelers from all over Europe, and especially from England.

In the ladies' drawing room such theatrical and operatic stars as Modjeska, Clara Louise Kellogg, Patti, Gerster, Ristori, and Albani gave complimentary performances, the tickets to which were highly valued as keepsakes. The Clarendon became the fashionable and exclusive place for wedding breakfasts. Brown, the sexton of Grace Church, could be seen there almost any night studying the register for the rich and eligible young dancing men required by the parvenu balls. It was there that Ward McAllister laid the foundations for the organization of his "four hundred."

The rooms of Mr. Wilson G. Hunt were a center of conservative finance by reason of the widespread and well-founded confidence in his integrity and judgment and in his extensive means of acquiring both political and financial information. He was a director of many of the richest and most influential corporations in the city; the trusted adviser of such capitalists as the Astors, Peter Cooper, Vanderbilt, A. A. Low, Moses Taylor, and A. T. Stewart. He was a partisan but conservative Democrat, and a liberal contributor to the legitimate expenses of the Democratic party. His advice was respected by both the Democratic factions until the advent of bossism. A daily list of the callers at his rooms would have included nearly every name prominent in the finance, philanthropy, and religion of the city. He was not often imposed upon, yet he could not always escape, for he was not sufficiently suspicious. In those convivial evenings in the smoking rooms, one of the guests became very popular and "promoted" a fraud so ingeniously that he lured several of the financial experts, among them Mr. Hunt, to take an interest in a worthless corporation. Each of the persons approached by this wolf in sheep's clothing was given to understand that he was receiving a special favor, and yet when he quit the hotel nearly everyone found himself victimized. Mr. Hunt, and indeed most of the old guests, ever after refused to visit the smoking rooms. In his private parlor, where he received all his callers subsequent to this experience, I met nearly every diplomat and statesman of distinction in the country, and nearly every solid man of New York during the frequent calls I made on him up to a few days before his death. He was a keen observer, but never censorious. He was most liberal to others and especially to unfortunate friends, while almost parsimonious in his own expenditures. An old merchant called upon him, when I chanced to be present, with a subscription book for some charity with which he did not sympathize. Mr. Hunt said, "Now be candid with me, what interest have you in collecting this money?" "Well, my old friend, to tell the truth, my necessities induced me to undertake it for the commission."

Wilson G. Hunt
From a print made about 1855

Mr. Hunt then said, "What is your commission?" He replied, "Ten per cent." Mr. Hunt said, "And how much am I assessed for by these books?" The reply was, "You appear to have given one hundred dollars to this charity." "Well," said Mr. Hunt, "here is ten dollars, your commission, which is all the interest I have in that charity." He then turned to me and said, "This object lesson may be useful to you," and it has been.

One afternoon as several luxurious carriages stood before the door of the hotel to take the well-dressed ladies and their gentlemen escorts to the Central Park drive, he remarked to me, "Did it ever occur to you that you and I, who live so modestly, are about the only guests in this hotel who have a clear income to return to the United States for Income Tax assessment?" On making my own return for the year, I was informed that Mr. Hunt was right by the assessor, who seemed to be puzzled to understand how the display which the guests of our hotel made could be supported without incomes.

One evening in the smoking room many cases of disappointment over the disposition of the political spoils by the recently elected Whigs were cited. Genial Joe Hoxie, who had composed and sung with great effect during the campaign the song "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," but who had been left out in the cold by the victors, was present as the guest of his friend, Mr. Hunt. He took the matter philosophically and good-naturedly, as it was his wont to take everything. "Blessed are those who don't expect anything," he said, "for they shall not be disappointed."

Mr. Kerner, our host, always ready to illustrate aptly any subject under discussion, informed us that in early life he had suffered disappointment in the very heyday of triumph, and he suggested that certain of his Whig friends might have been similarly disappointed even if they had been given official positions. "I had enlisted in one of Napoleon's army corps," he said, "and on the termination of my first dress parade the Colonel called for twelve brave volunteers for duty. I stepped briskly to the front, with eleven others, proud of having an

opportunity to distinguish myself. The Colonel supplied us with a portion of the regiment's band, and then turned us over to a corporal, who marched us to the accompaniment of an inspiriting military tune to a distant part of our camping ground and into a kind of barn, where we were ordered to stack arms and attack with knives a large pile of potatoes that were waiting to be pared for the encampment's dinner. The paring accomplished, we marched back, very much crest-fallen, to the great amusement of the veterans."

Our host covered his disgrace by ordering a bottle of his best German wine, in which we all drank his health and that of the great leader of whom he loved to talk, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Ex-Governor Marcy then said: "On taking the oath of office for my first Gubernatorial term, I went into the State Department with some political friends to overhaul my official mail. As I opened each letter I found it was an earnest application for an office or a contract. My friends remarked that my early official correspondence was very large. I answered, 'Yes, they all seem to feel that "to the victors belong the spoils."' This was immediately used by the press as an expression of my own opinion, and to this day it is an unsettled question whether my administration in New York or that of General Jackson in Washington originated the now popular slogan."

One of our guests related that while he was en route from Charleston to New York his train was boarded at Baltimore by a number of the Democratic delegates to the Convention held in that city, which had just nominated Mr. Pierce for the Presidency, an outcome which was a surprise to many, for Mr. Pierce was not at that time as favorably known as his administration subsequently made him. Several voices said, "Who is Pierce?" A very jovial Western member of Congress replied, "I have never served in Congress with him, but I know him to be a damned good fellow. A couple of years ago I was a guest with him at a dinner party in Georgetown, D. C., from which four of us determined to walk back

to Washington, in order to enjoy the bright moonlight as well as to take the air after indulging in the fine wines of our host. As we were crossing the Washington Bridge, my companion and I, who were in the lead, missed Mr. Pierce and his companion. We retraced our steps about two hundred feet and found that an accident had happened. Mr. Pierce's companion had fallen into a hole in the rotten planking covering the bridge, but had been saved by his arms from falling into the river. Mr. Pierce was tugging away trying to lift the unfortunate up, but finding himself unequal to the task said in a halting, sympathetic voice, 'Old fellow, I can't get you out of this hole, but I will do the next best thing, I will get in with you." Ex-President Pierce, who was present, remarked, "a delightful compliment, but the incident is much exaggerated."

During the winter of 1855-56 Thackeray, who had come to New York to deliver his lectures on the Four Georges, was a guest at the Clarendon, and as he occupied a suite adjoining that of my family and was fond of children, he frequently came into the parlor to chat and relax with my young people, who took to his kindly face and interesting little stories wonderfully. I met Thackeray at the Century Club also, where we were both occasional guests, but more frequently and more informally at the Saturday night supper parties in the basement of the residence of that prince of good fellows, Evert A. Duyckinck. Here, in the company of such kindred spirits as Dr. J. W. Francis, Rev. Dr. Hawks, the poet Fitz Greene Halleck, the comedian Hackett, the novelist Herman Melville, and the poet and traveler Bayard Taylor, the genial nature of Thackeray fairly radiated cheer. One night when the conversation had become a bit free, one of the guests (Judge O'Gorman, I think, with whom I was very intimate) said, "Thackeray, where did you get your model for Mrs. Major O'Dowd? Was she an English woman?" He replied, "No, by God, she was Irish—my mother-in-law—didn't I give her hell! But she was a gloriously good woman after all." Thackeray was himself a glorious companion on these glorious

occasions in that glorious old basement of my glorious old friend, Evert A. Duyckinck.

The following account of Mr. Duyckinck which appeared in one of the New York papers a day or two after his death in 1878 gives a better idea of the man and his career than anything I could write:

"Evert A. Duyckinck, whose funeral occurs to-morrow from the historic church of St. Mark's-in-the-fields—as its parish name still remains—was thirty years ago one of the most popular and esteemed critics of the day. Lowell, in his 'Fable for Critics,' published in 1848, thus referred to him:

> "Good-day, Mr. Duyckinck, I am happy to meet
> With a scholar so ripe and a critic so neat,
> Who through Grub Street the soul of a gentleman carries
> What news from the suburb of London and Paris?

"Mr. Duyckinck was descended from one of the oldest Knickerbocker families. His father, Evert Duyckinck, was one of New York's pioneer publishers and printers. James Harper was one of his journeymen. The name of Duyckinck, or Long & Duycknick, upon any book was (about 1814-1825) a guarantee of its excellence and typographical accuracy. Evert Duyckinck was born in 1816, was graduated at Columbia College in 1835 and was admitted to the bar, but almost immediately went into literature. His brother George Long (who died in 1862), was also bred to the law, and he also embraced the profession of letters. Their father on his decease left them a fair income. Evert added to it by reviews, newspaper leaders, and critiques. Nearly all of his labors are, therefore, ephemeral. But he was known throughout the United States to publishers, authors, and editors as a critic without malice or bias, impartial, just, discriminating, and with a style much like that of Charles Lamb, whom, indeed, he much resembled in his constitutional shyness, unctuous and quiet wit, sententious and clever conversation, and slight hesitation in speech. He was in every respect a thoroughly genial man, and it is said that no one ever saw him affected by ill temper. He had one of the

"Winyah," New Rochelle

From a painting by its architect, made about 1852

choicest libraries in the State, and he may be said to have lived in it. He resided during forty years at No. 30 Clinton Place, which of late had queer surroundings for a man of quiet and retiring habits. But he so disliked changes! At this residence in years gone by met a literary coterie known as the 'Colonel's Club,' of which William Allen Butler was chairman, and Cornelius Mathews, Henry T. Tuckerman, Edward J. Gould, Bailey Myers, Lowell, Fletcher Harper, and others were leading members. Its papers were published in the *Literary World*—a publication like the London *Athenæum*—which belonged to and was edited by the Duyckincks from 1846 to 1853. In these papers first appeared several of William Allen Butler's early poems, and notably the 'Sexton and Thermometer.'

"Mr. Duyckinck's house, like that of Rogers the banker-poet, in St. James Square, London, was always the resort of the most eminent literary men of the country. All loved him, and he loved all nice men of letters who were not uproarious Bohemians. His best work is the 'Cyclopaedia of American Literature,' in two volumes, published by the father of the present Mr. Scribner, which is a perfect history of American literature down to 1860. Mr. Duyckinck was a thorough aesthetician and should have passed his days in London. He was a gentleman of singularly sweet disposition, and with a soul as little soiled by the world as can be possible to humanity. During many years he was a vestryman of St. Thomas', but latterly of St. Mark's. He died after a brief illness, aged sixty-two."

During most of the years that I passed my winters at the Clarendon Hotel, I passed my summers at New Rochelle, where in 1848 I had bought a country seat called Winyah Park, about which I wrote at that time to a friend in the South: "I have purchased a country residence in New Rochelle, a very handsome farm about seventeen miles from New York City, and as my house is only a few rods from the railway I can reach New York in forty-five minutes. I came into town

to-day with my own carriage in two and a quarter hours. Eight miles of the road is the Third Avenue of New York City, graded and lit by lamps, so that one fancies himself in the City all the time. I should like to have a visit from you to enjoy my fruit. I have over 200 peach trees, 150 apple do. and cherries, etc., in abundance, with a beautiful lawn of six acres in front of my house. All my fields, eighty acres, have stone walls. The dwelling is a new, double, two-story house having sliding doors, portico, etc. I am busy getting the crops etc., into my barn."

After a few years I replaced the plain frame buildings, which were utterly without architectural pretensions, by a Tuscan villa. This villa was erected under the supervision of Alexander J. Davis, a leading architect of his time. Mr. Davis gave me lessons in drawing and architecture, and was for many years one of my most intimate friends. I append herewith a letter from Mr. Davis—written many years after the construction of the Winyah Park house—because it gives an admirable idea of the whimsical side of his character:

"N. Y., Feb. 19, 1883.
"203 W. 11th St.

"FRIEND LATHERS:

"I quite miss you of late as a critic upon architecture, for your long study and experience in building on your property must enable you to correct abuses, and judge of 'forms, modes and shows' which now force themselves upon the attention of all who perambulate our streets, or explore our suburbs or pass by The Union Club House. A grinding economy no longer 'represses our noble rage, and freezes the genial current of our souls,' as Goldsmith says. You yourself must feel the blighting influence of inadequate appropriation, superinduced by restricted means, or a too sordid economy, such as we both have had 'overcome us like a summer cloud, without our special wonder,' for in our first efforts to obtain superior taste combined with fitness, use and beauty, our 'vaulting ambition did o'erleap itself, and we fell on the other,' as the immortal Billy has expressed it. I allude to our great effort in

Interior of Winyah Park, New Rochelle

the original Italian villa of the hill site, N. Rochelle. Here we should have expanded our philacteries, and made the octagon greater, the tower wider and higher: the hall and dining room more capacious and thus saved the cost of the second establishment in the wilderness of Winyah. 'Eh! what will you lay it's a lie?' as Mathews used to say. Be this as it may I have myself suffered from like causes, and upon my mountain top built a retreat with the broken fragments of Waddell, and my own poetical aspirations, and have since reared it into a golden palace of Nero, at twice the cost of a better, had it been begun aright, with no *iron fetter* in place of a golden one.

"When you come to town bring with you the 'Winyah Album,' that I may *revise the contents,* as I have revised my own, since I have retired from the active exercise of my profession and found time to restudy my thousand plans, and devote myself to the self-fancied correction of *abuses,* both in church and state, with an unsparing pen and pencil, without regard to anybody's feelings, selfish interests and aggrandisements. But I shall not extend my letter of idle words, but adhere to lines, as my wont has been, and therefore come back to *'Winyah Italia,'* to which I have added a picture gallery, conservatory, and domestic offices. I have opened windows in the top of octagon, extended the terrace, added a *porte cochère,* and grown trees and shrubs to south front. I have also reformed the old time studies for Huguenot Park, the Davenport structures, the Lawton 'Over Cliff' with a new library—the Iselin mansion, and further on the 'Parke Whitby.'

"I have greatly extended my library since I saw you, adding thereto such works as Duyckinck's 'Cyclopedia,' Allibone and other literary, philological, critical, historical, and illustrative works, such as you have doubtless added to your comprehensive collection for the higher accomplishment of the *dear girls,* to whom, as the ghost of Hamlet says, say you from me to them 'Remember me!'

"Take time to make me a long visit before my library takes wing for the mountain. . . .

"You must all become life members of the Historical, Geographical, Archaeological, Ethical, Bibliographical, Artistical, Oil and Water Color and though last, not least, the 'Institute of Christian Philosophy,' 4 Winthrop Place. Dr. Deems, Pres. and all Bishops Vice Pres.

"I remain same as ever,

"A. J. Davis.

"After an attentive study of Lord Kames' 4th vol. on man, write me of how you get on with Politics and Ben Butler."

I spent much time with Mr. Davis while under his tuition and met frequently in his library Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, Edwin Forrest, Evert Duyckinck, Downing (the landscape gardener), and Samuel F. B. Morse. Apropos of the last-named, I recall a pleasant incident.

I had just finished in Mr. Davis' studio a linear perspective study—a mere mathematical problem comprising a church between two castellated villas—and was amusing myself by placing a tree and some shrubs in the composition and coloring it as a picture, when Prof. Morse, who was still practicing his original profession of painting, came in. I held up my colored study with the remark "Don't you think this is well done?" "Yes, pretty fair," was the reply. "But," I said somewhat crestfallen, "why not *well done?*" "Because it is very defective in its aërial perspective," and he forthwith explained that there are laws of color as well as of lines. He then took up my brush, and dipping it into the color cup demonstrated by retouching the trees and the various parts of the edifices, the truth of what he had just said. "And now, my young friend," he resumed, "I would not have you mortified by my criticism without telling you of my own mortification over the valuable criticism of my first academical picture by Sir Benjamin West, then President of the London Royal Academy. When I presented to him the picture by which I hoped to gain admission to the Academy, he put on his glasses, and after looking at it some time in silence, handed it back to me with the remark, 'Very well done, young man, but take it to your

studio and finish it.' I ventured to reply that I did not know of any improvement that could be made. He looked at me kindly for a moment and said, 'Oh, you are too intelligent not to see defects when they are pointed out to you. How far from the eye do you wish that rock to be placed in your composition?' I replied, 'About four hundred feet.' 'Then don't you perceive that at that distance the crevices and mosses could not be so plain nor the shades of color so decided? On the other hand, the details of the foreground are too faint.' I took the study away and made the corrections just as Sir Benjamin had suggested. I again presented my study. Again he mounted his spectacles on his nose and after carefully scanning my work remarked, 'You are on the right road to success. Take the picture away and finish it—as I believe you will.'

"This lesson," said my kindly mentor, "will be of value to you. Art has its stumbling blocks, but study and patience have their rewards."

I framed the picture which Prof. Morse retouched for me and have always kept it as a souvenir of him.

In 1865, I may remark here in passing, I built yet a third and larger house at Winyah Park just back of the second in which I have since had the pleasure of entertaining many noted people, among them Gen. Robert Anderson, Judge Pierpont, Major Baldwin, Judge Clark, William Pickersgill, John Gardner, Charles O'Conor, Manton Marble, David M. Stone, Rev. Dr. Theodore Cuyler, A. A. Low, William H. Aspinwall, Clarkson N. Potter, Andrew H. Green, John Russell Young, Gen. Van Vliet, Major Smith Ely, Charles A. Dana, Moses Grinnel, W. M. Evarts, Bishops Horatio Potter and Henry C. Potter, and Admiral Worthing of the British Navy.

One of the most memorable events I have witnessed in New York was the visit of Jenny Lind in 1850, for which we were indebted to the enterprise of our great showman, P. T. Barnum. Mr. Barnum had already exhibited with great success to the aristocracy of Europe the aged nurse of General Washington, and the phenomenal dwarf, General Tom Thumb; but his

acute perception of the public taste was never more fully vindicated than when he brought the Swedish Nightingale to America. Mr. Barnum subsidized the press heavily, as was his custom. The slightest details of the diva's professional and private life were paraded before the public.

Our poets composed prize poems and even our clergymen wrote flattering letters. But Jenny Lind needed none of this artificial booming. The musical world recognized her genius, and the great heart of the people was in sympathy with her sweetness, modesty, and high moral character, to which even so rigid but judicious a critic as Queen Victoria had paid tribute.

In welcome contrast with the many fulsome poems which Barnum paid for, was one which cost him nothing, by William Allen Butler, who became well known later as the author of "Nothing to Wear." Barnum is addressing Jenny Lind:

"So, Jenny, come along,—you're just the card for me,—
And quit these kings and queens for the country of the free.
Folks'll welcome you with speeches and serenades and rockets,
And you shall touch their hearts and I shall tap their pockets,
And if between us both the public isn't skinned,
Why, my name isn't Barnum nor your name Jenny Lind."

I attended the famous first concert at Castle Garden. The regular price for tickets was five dollars, but a sale by auction was resorted to, by which from fifteen to fifty dollars per seat was realized. Some $30,000 resulted from the first concert, and $700,000 from the whole engagement, of which Barnum's share amounted to $500,000 and Jenny Lind's to $200,000. At the auction sale, one Genin, a Broadway hatter, paid $225 for first choice, an extravagance prompted by a craving for notoriety, to all appearances. And yet, thanks to this extravagance, Genin became widely known as the Jenny Lind hatter, and is said to have acquired a fortune speedily. Such is skill in making investments.

On the arrival of Jenny Lind in New York she engaged the

celebrated flutist, Kyle, to accompany her during her tour, and requested him to put several flutes to the test of a comparison with her voice. I, at that time, was a pupil of Kyle, and a flute had just been finished for me under Kyle's supervision which was remarkable for its purity of tone, especially in the higher register of notes. Kyle craved permission, which I readily granted, to include my flute among those he was to test. It turned out to be particularly in harmony with Jenny Lind's sweet voice. She selected it from among eight or ten for her concerts, and Kyle accompanied her with it as long as she remained in America. I quote herewith a description of Jenny Lind's flute song from the pen of A. Oakey Hall:

"And now is coming the crucial test of the fluidity of the Jenny Lind voice, for she is announced to sing, without orchestra, a composition written expressly for her by Meyerbeer,—a trio for voice and two flutes, Kyle playing the first flute, and another popular favorite playing the second. Jenny Lind's vocal skill in rivaling with the flutes produces such a novel and striking performance as New York has never heard before, and, indeed, may never hear again. Her flute song embodies three movements; the earliest an *allegro* with the first flute in which voice and instrument are so perfectly blended that at times it is impossible to determine whether the voice is from the flute or the flute from the voice. The second movement is an *andante* with the second flute, which produces a similar blending, but in a key different from the first and running up into F in alt. In the third, the flutes are in duet with the voice; when the flutes pause, the voice continues alone, imitating the flute movement."

When my Jenny Lind flute was returned to me, I had a silver band bearing an engraved inscription put around it. I still have the flute and I prize it to-day, by virtue of its associations, beyond almost any other possession.

John Howard Payne was present at Jenny Lind's last appearance in Washington. In response to a call for an en-

core, she suddenly turned her face to the part of the theater where Payne was sitting, and looking him steadily in the face sang "Home, Sweet Home" with such pathos and power as to melt the whole audience to tears. Even Daniel Webster's self-control forsook him, and Payne nearly lost his reason in listening thus unexpectedly to her magnificent rendition of his own immortal lyric.

Jenny Lind was not a handsome woman, but had a queenly person—with dark hair, a lovely neck, fine color, and perfectly formed arms. She was accompanied by the celebrated tenor Mario (the acknowledged successor of Rubini) whose beauty attracted the ladies quite as much as his voice.

Ten years later, in the autumn of 1860, the Prince of Wales visited New York, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle and a suite of seven or eight distinguished persons.

Early in August a reception committee of one hundred citizens was appointed of which the venerable philanthropist, Peter Cooper, was chairman. I was the youngest member of that committee, and am probably the only survivor.

I cannot resist calling attention to the financial miracle performed by our managing secretary, Maunson B. Field, who, instead of reporting (as is usual in the case of popular subscription entertainments) a deficiency to be made good by the subscribers, reported a considerable surplus, which the subscribers ordered to be distributed to charity.

The following document throws some light upon the means by which this remarkable feat was achieved:

"BALL IN HONOR OF
"HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"We, the undersigned, Members of the Citizens' Committee for the Ball in honor of the Prince of Wales, severally agree to subscribe each the sum of Seventy Dollars, in accordance with the following conditions, with the understanding, how-

ever, that any amount remaining over after all expenses shall be paid shall be returned *pro rata.*

"CONDITIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE:

"Twenty-Eight Hundred Tickets shall be finally issued. Every gentleman on the Committee to have the right to seven accepted invitations, subscribing therefor the sum of Seventy Dollars. The invitations to be in the proportion of four ladies to three gentlemen. Each member of the Committee will hand in to the Secretary the names of the persons whom he proposes to have invited, and as soon as these names are approved by the Invitation Committee, the Secretary will issue the invitations. Upon the acceptance of these invitations, Tickets (not transferable) will be issued. If any invitations are declined, the gentleman at whose request they were issued will have the liberty of presenting other names until his full complement of Tickets is exhausted. Any tickets which may be left over will be in the hands of the Secretary to be disposed of *pro rata* among those Members of the General Committee who may make application for them in time, with the same provisions as above. Every Ticket to be carefully registered, and to be countersigned by one of the Committee on Tickets and Finance, and also by the gentleman at whose request it was issued.

"NEW YORK, September 4th, 1860."

Another committee of nine was appointed to organize a suitable banquet in honor of the visitors. The members of this committee were William B. Astor, Pelatiah Perit, William Kent, Moses Taylor, John A. Dix, Robert B. Minturn, John J. Cisco, Wilson G. Hunt, and Julian C. Verplanck, not one of whom now survives.

The banquet, the ball, and the various receptions were worthy of our guest and creditable to the hospitality of the city of New York.

The ball naturally caused a good deal of manœuvering on

the part of the ambitious society mammas who were anxious that their daughters should have the honor of dancing with the Prince. The Committee very properly awarded this honor in the first set to the wife of Governor Morgan—a very large, dignified lady, who, it was said, had taken lessons of a dancing master for the occasion. But afterward the Prince, who was a boy in stature, as in years, selected partners nearer his own size.

Early in the evening, as the Prince and his escort came to the center of the hall, there was a rush on the part of the spectators, and the timbers which supported the temporary flooring over the pit of the Academy of Music gave way, tumbling many of us in a heap, but causing no damage to life or limb, and very little to costume, as the floor settled only four feet quite gradually. The Duke of Newcastle, not a little alarmed, hurried the Prince to a reception room. One of the more enterprising young ladies rendered her fair friends vastly jealous by monopolizing the Prince there while the floor was being repaired and strengthened by the carpenters; after the dancing commenced, however, he made his attentions general, irrespective of the claims of society belles languishing for his notice.

Mayor Wood had the honor of entertaining the Prince at a breakfast at his country seat, and Col. Delafield, commanding at West Point, gave him a reception there at which Gen. Scott made the presentations of the guests to the royal party, with his customary dignity and discrimination. An incident occurred, however, which shows that there is something in a name, despite Shakespeare. I quote from Ward McAllister:

"I approached Gen. Scott asking him to present me to his Royal Highness. Great as he was in height, he bent down his head to me and asked sharply, 'What name, sir?' I gave my name, McAllister, but at the sound of Mc, not thinking it distinguished enough, he said quite brusquely, 'Pass on, sir.' Subsequently I was presented to the Prince by the Duke of Newcastle."

CHAPTER III

BUSINESS MEMORIES

In 1848, having decided to settle permanently in New York, I leased No. 57 Broad Street, near Wall Street, and established myself as a commission merchant for the sale of cotton, rice, sugar, and other Southern products, and as an agent of several Southern insurance companies and banks. I also became the selling agent of the Townsend factory, the first South Carolina cotton yarn factory to be represented in New York.

Here let me give an amusing incident connected with this Broad Street tenancy. The building was a four-story brick block, the upper stories of which were supported by square granite pillars about eighteen inches wide. I sublet the second floor to the lawyer, Horace F. Clarke, who had recently married the daughter of Commodore Vanderbilt. Mr. Clarke was not only an astute and prominent lawyer but, being wealthy, was a large lender of money to his needy clients at, as they thought, exorbitant rates—"shaves," to use the slang of the day. Now the granite pillars of the ground story offered only a restriced space for the names of tenants, and my name had to be printed in two lines. Mr. Clarke, being too well known to need given name or initials, used the single word Clarke. One night some disgruntled client of Mr. Clarke procured a miniature barber's pole, secured it under the names by carefully fabricated iron clamps, and painted the word "SHAVES" under Clarke—making the inscription over the barber's pole read:

RICHARD
LATHERS
CLARKE
SHAVES.

Although not a little mortified when I came to my office to find a crowd gathered making fun of the above, I was obliged to confess that for a stranger in a strange city I was being given a generous share of free advertising.

I never recall this period without gratitude for the way in which I was treated by my competitors in my various lines of business, who, instead of making my business beginnings difficult, as they might have done, accorded me—almost without exception—kindness and support.

Shortly after my removal to New York an old friend (a retired merchant and Ex-Mayor of Brooklyn) who was organizing a Marine Insurance Company, requested me to subscribe, and I took some $5,000 of the capital stock to aid him to procure for himself the presidency of the company. The company seemed, for a few months, to be doing a fair business. One day the president asked me to make the company a loan on call of some $10,000, by which he proposed to anticipate payment of a loss not yet due, and obtain a rebate thereon. On calling in the loan, after a couple of months, I was surprised at being told that it would be inconvenient for the company to pay for two or three weeks. I at once said to the president, "There must be some lax management of your finances." He replied, "My finance committee are neither very capable nor very energetic, and if I could persuade you to accept a directorship and the chairmanship of the finance committee, the board of directors would be glad to elect you." The directors being respectable bankers and shipping merchants, I replied, "Considering my stock and my loan to the company, I will accept." On taking the position and examining the books, I soon discovered that the capital appeared to be impaired, and calling a meeting of the board, I informed them that each member would be responsible personally for the future indebtedness of the company if they should continue in business with an impaired capital. I advised that the company suspend business and that the stockholders be assessed and required to pay in twenty-five per cent. on their stock, to make good the apparent deficiency of the capital, by a given

day, when business would be resumed. The stockholders came forward promptly with the funds, which were placed to my own credit in the Bank of the Republic, to be transferred to the company as soon as it should be ascertained that the contributions would cover the full extent of the deficiency. Some of the larger creditors, however, for some sinister purpose, actually withheld the presentation of their claims till the day fixed by the notice for resumption, when such a perfect avalanche of claims came in that I was satisfied that the company was bankrupt. I called the board together and so informed them, and they were very grateful to me for withholding the funds paid in by the stockholders, to whom they were at once returned.

The year 1854 was a disastrous one for marine underwriters. Many of the companies became bankrupt, especially the mutual companies. The need of more companies and more capital in the business to cover merchants' and bankers' credit in the city led to the formation of a stock company with a large cash capital subscribed by investors, with a division of profits—to be annually declared—of one quarter to capital and three quarters to the dealers in scrip. This system of dividing profits which I devised after much thought was designed to meet the desire for cash capital and inspire confidence, and at the same time compete with the mutual system attractive to customers because the whole profits reverted to them.

On being offered the presidency of this new company, called the Great Western Marine Insurance Company, I said flatly to the committee who approached me that I was unwilling to give up my large commission business to push this novel scheme, although it was of my own invention, unless the capital should be fixed at $5,000,000; unless I should be one of the largest stockholders; unless I should be permitted to select from thirty to thirty-six directors from among the leading bankers and merchants interested in foreign trade directly or indirectly; and unless each director should be required to hold at least $10,000 worth of stock.

One of the committee asked me if I had in my mind such a

board of directors as I described, to which I replied that in anticipation of the question I had prepared a list which I thought would meet their approbation. Another member of the committee then asked, "Do you know that these gentlemen will serve? Have you consulted them?" I replied that I had not consulted them and indeed had never met some of them and knew intimately only a few. But I believed that the general desire for a substantial company with a large cash capital on which to base commercial credits and the pleasant prospect of making a part of so distinguished and unique a board of directors would have great weight with them. This opinion was fully vindicated by the readiness with which the directorships were accepted and by the speed with which the capital stock was over-subscribed.

At a dinner in London during the Civil War I was introduced to the president of the Bank of England, who, when told that I was the president of the Great Western Insurance Company of New York remarked, "That is one of the New York corporations in which I know personally or by reputation most of the directors."

The directors of the Great Western at the time the president of the Bank of England made this significant observation, were: Richard Lathers, president; W. C. Pickersgill, of W. C. Pickersgill & Co., London and Liverpool; James Benkard, of Benkard & Hutton, Lyons and Paris; Wm. H. Guion, of Williams & Guion, New York and Liverpool; Sam'l D. Babcock, of Babcock Bros. & Co., bankers, Liverpool; James M. Brown, of Brown Bros. & Co., bankers, New York and London; H. F. Spaulding, of Spaulding, Hunt & Co.; J. L. Aspinwall, of Howland & Aspinwall, commission merchants; John Allen, Southern banker; Gustavus Kutter, of Loeschigk, Wesendonck & Co., Switzerland; L. H. Brigham, of Brigham & Parsons, Savannah, Ga.; J. A. Mecke, of Reiner & Mecke, Germany; John R. Gardner, banker, of Pickersgill & Co., London; Wm. Wright, of R. L. Maitland & Co., Emile Heineman, of Heineman & Payson; N. Chandler, of J. Monroe & Co., bankers, Paris; Robert Spedding, of Henry A. Swift & Co.; J. B. Johnston, of J. Boor-

man Johnston & Co., bankers; Wm. M. Evarts, of Evarts, Southmayd & Choate; Fred'k. C. Gebhard, of Schuchardt & Gebhard, bankers; Sam'l B. Caldwell, of Caldwell & Morris, Mobile, Ala.; Geo. W. Hennings, of Hennings & Gosling, Germany; Wilson G. Hunt, of Sullivan, Randolph & Budd; J. J. Crane, president of Bank of the Republic; George W. Bee, of Williams, Bee & Co.; Wm. B. Duncan, of Duncan, Sherman & Co., bankers; Rob't M. Olyphant, of Olyphant, Son & Co., China merchants; J. Pierpont Morgan, of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., bankers; Thomas Slocomb; Geo. A. Phelps, Jr., of Chamberlaine, Phelps & Co., Sicilian merchants.

A few years after the Great Western was organized a rather remarkable instance of barratry occurred by which this company was the chief sufferer. As president, therefore, I took the prosecution in hand and called on the counsel of the company, Wm. M. Evarts, to give it special attention. Mr. Evarts proposing to refer the case to Joseph H. Choate, who was then his clerk or junior partner, I objected to the appointment of so young and unknown a practitioner, whatever his natural ability might be, in view of the fact that the well-known lawyer, Oakey Hall, had been retained by the defense. Mr. Evarts said, "Let him manage the case and you will have cause to withdraw your objection to his want of experience." Needless to say, Mr. Evarts was right. This was Mr. Choate's first case in a field in which he has since reaped much honor.

Another young man regarding whom I was skeptical in the early stages of his career was J. Pierpont Morgan. I remember distinctly that when he was proposed as a director of the Great Western I was decidedly of the opinion that he would not "do" at all, and that I gave my consent to his occupying so responsible a position with the greatest reluctance.

I became a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1855, at which time it numbered less than 350 members, with the majority of whom I as an underwriter and a merchant had business relations. The Chamber was made up mainly of commission merchants, ship owners, marine underwriters, and bankers. Indeed, the larger transactions of business at that

time were concentrated in one exchange, now used as a custom house, where merchants, brokers, and bankers met daily, at noon, thereby coming into closer personal relations with one another than they do to-day. The Chamber has actively promoted the commerce of New York and co-operated with the authorities in every good work for the advancement of the business and security of the country. Its services, during the Civil War in particular, were worthy of the business and social position of its members; I only regret an absence of appreciation and support of free trade, the very essence of commerce.

July 18, 1855, I was elected a director of the New York and Erie Railroad.

The wit of the Union Club (to which I belonged for a time), commenting one day on the alleged uncertainty of the published financial statements of the Erie Road, observed that its bookkeeper kept a lead pencil and an india rubber eraser on his desk instead of pen and ink; and, although the joke was at my expense, it was too good to be resented. This wit, who was a prominent stockholder, was the single saving feature of a club that was hopelessly dull in all other respects. Catching sight of a railroad attorney (who was believed to fatten on railroad receiverships), with his hands in his trousers' pockets, he ejaculated, "Why, if there isn't X——, with his hands in *his own pockets!*" When a certain bald-headed banker boasted in his presence of being a self-made man, he said, "Then why the Devil didn't you put more hair on your head?" And to a young Englishman, who, pretending not to hear something he had said, leaned back in his chair and put an eye-glass to his right eye with a typically British "Aw? Aw?" he retorted, "You don't mean to say you hear with that damned thing, do you?"

But I am straying far from the Erie Road, about my connection with which I began to speak.

As chairman of the Finance Committee of the Erie, I had to arraign repeatedly Daniel Drew, who was one of the directors, for selling the company's stock short at times when

the knowledge of such sales was calculated to injure the credit of the road, then struggling to meet its obligations by bank loans in anticipation of future earnings. Mr. Drew was the personification of good nature, even when taken to task for this reprehensible practice. He would answer promptly, "Them boys [meaning his partners] have done this, and I will put a stop to it at once." Then, when his short sales as a bear had effected his purpose, he would turn around and bull the stock. His desire to speculate in this way was so strong that I found it useless to attempt to control him.

The Morse Brothers, who were tenants of the Great Western in William Street, were at one time very successful bulls in the stock market. Learning through Mr. Drew and other directors that the Erie was doing well, they began to purchase the stock freely. Drew, finding the market greatly advanced, began to sell out—employing outside brokers in order that the sales might not be traced to him. Other speculators, desiring to avail themselves of the profits already in sight, began to sell also. The object of Morse Brothers was to make what with stock brokers is called a corner, by holding all the marketable stock. They felt so sure of their ground that they purchased more of the stock than they had ready funds to pay for, and then applied to Drew for a loan on the stock, to enable them to continue purchasing, relying on him to retain his stock and keep up its market value by reason of his interest in the road as a director. Drew proposed that they should share equally with him (in consideration of a loan of $50,000) the nominal profits which they had realized on their early purchases, when the stock was depressed. This they objected to, offering about 20 per cent. Drew advised them to consider the proposition until the next day, which they promised to do. That evening they found an enormous block of Drew's stock on sale, which they purchased, not knowing it was his. They hastened to accept Drew's offer the next day, when to their great disappointment and disgust he informed them that he regretted that they had not accepted it the day before, since the banks had disappointed him in the loans he had hoped to

make to aid them, and he could only raise $5,000 at once, while they needed a lump sum of nearly $100,000 to carry them over. The result was the suspension of the house the next day, when, by reason of the fall in the market under the forced sale, Drew was able to purchase back the same stock he had sold a few days before at 50 per cent. less than he had sold it for. I met Drew at the office of the Erie a few days after, and remarked that I was sorry to observe the failure of Morse Brothers. "Do you know," replied Drew, "them boys are angry with me because I could not raise $100,000 for them to bridge over their own imprudence?"

Although Mr. Drew was (to put it mildly) "rather sharp," nevertheless I always found him ready to aid me as chairman of the Finance Committee, by his name and his bank account as indorser for the road, whenever the road's bank account was found to be too small for its obligations. His character was a singular combination of religious and charitable impulses and an intense and irresistible passion for stock gambling. He was a fervent Methodist, and devoted a large part of the proceeds of his gambling to founding a Methodist seminary and to supporting the Methodist churches of the city.

It is narrated of him, that, being greatly moved by an eloquent clerical appeal for a certain mission, he pledged $10,000, a sum which seemed to him when he came to think it over calmly more than he could spare from his business. "I at once resorted to prayer—my usual remedy—to help me out of my dilemma," he said shortly after a class meeting, "and besought the Lord to show me the way out of the difficulty. Confident of relief, I went down to my business the next morning, my brethren, and fleeced them fellows out of double the sum I needed."

Another New York financier in whose character respect for religion was strangely blended with irreligious qualities, was Commodore Vanderbilt. I once took an English friend to the Manhattan Club, at whose whist table the Commodore was a nightly and earnest sitter. When I pointed out the Commodore,

who was wearing a white cravat, my friend remarked that he had observed him at the card table because he was surprised to find a clergyman engaged in playing whist for money, but had concluded that this liberty was accorded clergymen in America. At that instant this clerical-looking gentleman, being displeased by a false lead, came out with the most flagrant layman's oath conceivable.

When Commodore Vanderbilt was fitting out his celebrated sea-going yacht for his cruise around the world, my young brother-in-law, whose father was an old friend of the Commodore, inquired of him whether he would take a chaplain on the voyage with him. The Commodore replied with considerable spirit, "Do you think I am such a damned heathen as to go to sea on as long a voyage as this without a chaplain—in case of death among guests or crew?"

The maxim of Franklin, "Take care of the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves," has had little to do with the amassing of the colossal fortunes of New York. I often saw from my office window the millionaire ship-owner, Edward Mott Robinson, haggling with the poor woman at the corner fruit stand over the price of a few peaches with which to eke out the economical lunch he was carrying in a little satchel in his hand. He lived in a plain boarding house in Jersey City, and thus avoided taxation in New York. His fortune was not the result of his parsimoniousness, but of his enterprise and skill.

CHAPTER IV

EFFORTS TO SAVE THE UNION

One of the earliest efforts to save the Union from threatened civil war was the large meeting of conservative citizens held at the Academy of Music, Dec. 19th, 1859, over which Daniel F. Tiemann, the Mayor of New York, presided, and of which I had the honor to be one of the vice presidents.

The Committee of Arrangements were: James W. Beekman, Matthew Morgan, D. M. Whitlock, Joshua J. Henry, Wilson G. Hunt, James T. Soutter, Henry Grinnel, Watts Sherman, Gerard Hallock, S. L. M. Barlow, William H. Appleton, E. E. Morgan, James Brooks, Alexander T. Stewart.

The call for the meeting, which I give herewith, was signed by 20,000 citizens (fully one-third of the actual vote of the city), representing all classes and parties. An extract from this public notice will give the reader an idea of the temper of the times:

"THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

"JUSTICE AND FRATERNITY.

"The undersigned, regarding with just abhorrence the crimes of John Brown, and his confederates, desire to unite with our fellow-citizens of New-York and vicinity, in a public and formal denunciation of that and all similar outrages, and to declare our unalterable purpose to stand by the Constitution *in all its parts,* as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States; and we hereby denounce as unpatriotic and untrue, revolutionary and dangerous, the idea of an irrepressible conflict existing between the two great sections of our beloved Union. On the contrary, we maintain that the North and the South were created for each other: that there is a

natural and necessary affinity between them, by parentage, history, religion, language, and geographical position; and that even their different climates, and different forms of industry, add strength to this bond of union, by enabling them to supply each other's wants. And we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves, from this hour, by our influence, our example, our votes, and by every other proper means, to discountenance and oppose SECTIONALISM in all its forms. Those of our fellow-citizens who share these sentiments with us, are requested to join us in a public expression of the same, at such time and place as may be designated by this Committee."

This call was responded to with a cordiality unprecedented in this city. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Vermilye. Speeches were made by James Brooks, Charles O'Conor, Ex-Governor Washington Hunt, James S. Thayer, Ex-Senator John A. Dix, Prof. Mitchell, and Rev. Dr. Bethune, and letters were read from Ex-President Martin Van Buren, Ex-President Fillmore, Ex-President Pierce, U. S. Senator Dickinson, Ex-Governor Briggs of Massachusetts, D. D. Barnard, and General Winfield Scott.

This same month I was appointed by the State Central Committee at Albany one of a Committee of Three to call meetings throughout the State for the purpose of choosing delegates to the Charleston Democratic Convention. We were greatly disappointed by the unfortunate adjournment of this convention, from which may be dated the inception of secession. The following July, I refused to represent New Rochelle in the County Nominating Convention, called to appoint a delegate from Westchester to the State Convention of Syracuse, on the ground that I could not sympathize with either faction of the party in action which threatened the defeat of the party, if not the destruction of the Union. Notwithstanding my refusal to attend the County Convention, I was unanimously elected in that convention to represent the county in the State Convention. Thereupon one of my friends declared that he knew that I would not go to Syracuse, and

proposed to have an alternate appointed. But the convention declined to accept my refusal as final, and passed unanimously a resolution that Col. Lathers should be empowered to name a delegate in his place if unwilling to go himself. I could not resist this implied compliment, and I accepted the appointment.

Every effort of the conservative Democrats to preserve the unity of party nominations for the Federal ticket failed, however, not only in the State of New York, but virtually over the whole country. I received many letters from leading Democrats and Democratic committees before and immediately after the Presidential election which showed that a patriotic and earnest effort was made to preserve the unity of the party and thereby avert the rupture of the Union which the encroachments of the fanatical North on the constitutional rights of the South, combined with the ill-considered form assumed by the natural resentment thereat in the South, were rendering inevitable.

In November, 1860, I sent to five representative citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, the following letter:

"New York, 28th Nov., 1860.

"Henry Gourdin, Esq.; Col. C. G. Memminger; Hon. A G. Magrath; Nelson Mitchell, Esq.; George A. Trenholm, Esq.

"*Dear Sirs:*—The grave aspect of the Secession movement in your State alarms a large class of your friends in this State, and induces the fear that the usual influence of conservative men, like yourselves, has not been exercised to check undue excitement, and to engraft on laudable Southern resistance more deliberate and timely measures to enforce redress of Southern wrongs.

"We fear that your people ignore or greatly undervalue the support and sympathy, not only of your Southern brethren, but of a large and important class of men in the Northern States, who are battling most strenuously, generously, and potently in behalf of Southern rights, and against the fell spirit of fanaticism that surrounds them.

"These men have been driven into a minority while defending, in their respective localities, your rights, and the constitutional integrity of the country against the fanatical prejudices and sectional demagogism of a powerful and aggressive home party.

"This defeat has subjected them, in their municipal relations, to acts of tyranny and to wholesale pecuniary exactions hitherto unknown to American legislation, the people of this city being subjected under the hostile party legislation of the Republican State administration to a degree of oppression appropriate only to a conquered province.

"Yet by many efforts and by intelligent and deliberate measures, we are gradually overcoming the fanatical sectionalism and corrupt demagogism, which so long have threatened the disruption of our national and State institutions. Laying aside old issues, the National men of all parties have rallied to the rescue of Southern rights, and to the enforcement of Northern duties; and the issues presented by them in the national election have met with a success unparalleled in the history of sectional struggles. Of about 650,000 votes cast in this State, we polled over 300,000, and that under circumstances of great disadvantage to ourselves, and of great advantage to our adversaries. The Republicans went into the canvass a united and well-drilled party, eager for a success which promised power to their organization, and lucrative places and contracts to their leaders. For our contest with this united sectional and fanatical organization, led by demagogues of great skill and financial resources, we had but three weeks in which to fuse three mutually hostile groups, whose unfortunate bickerings and recriminations furnished our adversaries with some of their most effective arguments against us; the more that these groups were addressed, in many cases, by Southern men who made it a point to foment their respective prejudices. In addition to this want of harmony which we had so little time to ameliorate, we had operating against us all the well known dissatisfaction with the present administration, many of the charges against which are, I fear,

well founded. Yet it is well known here that if we had had but a few weeks' more time we would have carried the State, notwithstanding the unfortunate want of agreement in the South as to the nomination. As it is, we have elected so many additional congressmen, as to insure safe legislation in the lower house.

"A revolution in the public sentiment of the North regarding the questions connected with the constitutional rights of the South, is progressing with a celerity rarely paralleled in the history of any social question so deeply rooted in prejudice and nourished by fanaticism. During the canvass, I addressed large meetings, both in this State and New Jersey, before which I discussed slavery in all its aspects, socially, morally and politically. And my remarks were always well received, although you know my views on this subject coincide with those of Mr. Calhoun, whose utterances (with few exceptions), on great subjects of national interest will yet, I hope, find a response in every Southern heart and become the text book of every American. Ten years ago such remarks would not have been tolerated for a moment by any Northern audience. And it is to be regretted that many Southern men have made concessions in regard to this and kindred subjects, which are quoted to our disadvantage. Indeed, the whole canvass was characterized by an open defense of slavery *per se* (as logically and eloquently enunciated by Charles O'Conor in his great Union speech last winter), as well as of the undoubted right of the South, under the protecting clauses of the Constitution, to enjoy this institution in the Territories as well as in the States. The public mind is rapidly coming to understand the force of these arguments, and it only requires the united firmness of the whole South, to insure those rights under the Constitution which, I fear, separate State action cannot enforce.

"These facts are adduced to show that the Northern mind is becoming indoctrinated with wholesome truths, which are gradually and surely tending to destroy sectionalism. And, although the New England element is still a formidable barrier, and, I fear, will long resist the constitutional rights of

the South, yet a united, firm and vigorous demonstration of the whole South, demanding from the new administration and the next Congress an unequivocal recognition of every Southern right, and a practical and vigorous enforcement of every Northern duty, will be powerfully seconded at the North by a force both moral and physical (hitherto dormant), that will defy opposition and insure success. Should sectionalism prevail, however, and the aggressive spirit of abolition prevent that moderation and justice after the inauguration, which have been promised by the leaders of the Republican party, the cause of the South will have been strengthened by present forbearance, and its adversaries will have been made responsible for a rupture which cannot then be avoided by the Southern States with honor and security. A convention of the united South, demanding its rights under the Constitution, could not be resisted (short of downright revolution), without raising a bitter issue in every State of the Union; and no administration or party could survive such an ordeal. Nor is there any fear that the incoming administration desires such an issue, however much its extreme partisans might rejoice to see your gallant State, chafing under its wrongs, precipitate itself into the doubtful experiment of secession.

"For the practical success of secession even, deliberation as to the best measures and time to unite all the elements favorable to it would be important; but when you reflect on the great moment of the issue to the State, and consider the predominant advantages of a struggle within the Union, a struggle in which all the good and true friends of constitutional liberty in every State would aid and in which the legislative and judicial branches of the Government would be on your side, the argument seems irresistible in favor of trying to live within the Union. Under these conditions to resort to the experiment of a revolution, which, even if peaceful, would involve evils of a magnitude disagreeable to contemplate, would seem to be fool-hardy. Furthermore you would renounce thereby all the power conferred upon you by the Federal Government, and leave your friends less able to assert

your rights or protect their own in the coming Congress; and this, at a period vital to the very existence of our national Government, and vital to the stability and independence of the Southern States.

"It is no part of my object to discuss the propriety of separate State action, or the abstract right of States to secede from a Union by which its essential constitutional provisions have been grossly violated. The injured party, in such a case, has, at least, the natural right of revolution, and few freemen will hesitate to resort to such an alternative when other remedies have been proved hopeless. My object is to ask your consideration of the safer and speedier remedy within the Union, through co-operation with your friends, North and South; and to call your attention to the probabilities of success in a deliberate and organized effort under the incoming administration, and the new Congress, to obtain your Constitutional rights. Failing in this, to destroy the Government that refuses them would be the only proceeding possible.

"It is true we have been defeated under the forms of the Constitution, and a sectional executive will administer the Government; yet he will not have the power to appoint so much as a cabinet adviser, without the approval of the Senate, which is with us. Nor will he or his party be able to pass an obnoxious law, since both branches of the legislature are with us. We shall have the protection of the judiciary also, to construe our rights under existing laws; and a large and intelligent body of active men in the North, whose sympathies are now enlisted, will battle for the rights of the South and the perpetuation of the Union. A large number of the Republicans even can be relied on, when the questions of Southern rights present themselves disentangled from a presidential election. Such is the innate love of our common country, with its glorious history and bright promise, that the threatening aspects of the situation have already produced a reaction, which tells strongly on public sentiment, even in Republican communities. If all these promised advantages shall fail to secure the South its constitutional rights, I trust that present moderation will but

nerve a united South to the firm determination, that, in or out of the Union, her institutions shall be protected, and her rights preserved.

" I enclose a copy of a letter addressed, a few days since, to a distinguished member of the present national administration, Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, by my friend General John A. Dix, a former able Senator from this State. He treats the subject admirably, and speaks the sentiments of a large and influential class, whose efforts in favor of Southern rights can be relied upon.

" I have conversed with him, with Charles O'Conor, Esq., and a large number of distinguished men, whose hearts are with the South, and whose exertions and large pecuniary contributions during the recent contest prove their earnestness in the cause. These men sincerely desire that the South should be united for the coming contest under the new administration.

" But should a joint demand of a Southern Convention of the States aggrieved fail to secure a peaceful solution of the problem, they would regard secession as the only remedy left for the South, and the North as powerless to resist it. If you think a delegation of leading men from the State of New York, coming to you in the capacity of consulting and sympathizing friends, would be favorably received, we will cheerfully send you such a delegation. I am sanguine, that much mutual advantage would be derived from such a kindly interchange of sentiments and that the mutual confidence which ought to exist between men battling for the same objects, and resisting the same evils would thereby be created. This time seems to be peculiarly opportune for such a meeting, because there are now no disturbing party favorites to interfere with its purposes, as was unfortunately the case at the last Convention at Charleston and because the alarming position of the country calls for the co-operation of the good and influential men of every section.

" I take the liberty of addressing you on this subject, feeling that my residence in the State of New York does not deprive me of the right to offer my advice and services to my old

fellow-citizens, with whose interests I hope I shall never fail to sympathize, and whose honor and safety I esteem next to my own. I received my first military commission from the lamented Governor Butler; and I shall always be ready to respond to the call of his successor, should the State need her absent sons to aid in the defence of her soil.

"I am conscious of the delicate nature of my proposition, and of the various sinister motives that open enemies or injudicious friends might attribute to either your action at the South or ours at the North in conforming to it. Yet I am satisfied that you will rely on my sincerity, and I hope you will think favorably of the project, as a practical means of allaying further excitement in your section, and enlisting healthy public sentiment in ours.

"I would further remark, in confirmation of my views, that I had a long and satisfactory interview with a distinguished Republican leader yesterday—an interview for the purpose of learning the probable policy of the party. I invited the utmost candor and avowed my intention of communicating the information to influential persons in the South. He said that while the policy of the Republican party could not be entirely ignored, yet the South should have no cause to complain; that the fugitive slave law should be practically enforced in every State, and that no alteration tending in the least to render it less effective to the interests of the South, should be countenanced. I am satisfied that the Republican party leaders will do their utmost to calm public feeling; and that they have the power, and the disposition, to curb the abolition element so strongly represented in the party and perhaps encouraged by them hitherto for the sake of getting into power.

"I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Richard Lathers."

To this letter I received the following answers:

"CHARLESTON, Dec. 12, 1860.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ., New York.

"*My Dear Sir:*—Pardon me for having delayed so long an answer to your letter of Nov. 28, dictated as it was by motives which are to be respected and appreciated. It would have been considered sooner, but some of the parties to whom the enclosure was addressed were absent from the city when it was received. I have only seen them within the last day or two. Trenholm is still in Columbia and will probably write you from that place. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Memminger, regarded, as you know, as conservative men, concur with Judge Magrath and myself, that the course of South Carolina cannot be changed, and that a visit, under the circumstances, of gentlemen such as you name, however great the respect entertained for them by our people, or however highly their motives are to be appreciated, would be without influence and utterly useless for the purposes indicated. Indeed, you must yourself have already seen this, for your letter had hardly been written, when Vermont, by a large majority, refused to repeal the 'Liberty laws'; and the discussion in Congress, and the tone of the Republican press cannot fail to have satisfied you how little the South has to expect from any such change of sentiment as you inform us is going on with so much celerity at the North. So far from any change favorable to the recognition of the just claims of the South, they tend more than ever to convince our people that there is no hope for them in the Union and that their only safety is being masters of their own destiny. The sooner the Northern States shall realize this fixed sentiment of the South, the better, and it is for the North to decide whether a people, seeking their own safety under the sacred panoply of their own State sovereignty, shall be permitted to do so peaceably. Out of the Union, feeling and vindicating their own equality, they will be ready to trade, and to establish with the Northern States as friendly relations as they will with any other people, or as have existed between them before. But if war is to be forced upon the

South, to compel her submission, her condition will be no worse than that which will be ultimately forced upon her by Republican rule. Secession, therefore, is the final determination of the people of our State, and which cannot be changed. I would make a single remark upon General Dix's letter to Mr. Cobb, a copy of which you have been kind enough to send me. It is impossible to separate Mr. Lincoln's election, although in conformity with the forms of the Constitution, from the fact that he accepted, and became the candidate of a party upon a platform of declared hostility to the South committed against the further extension of slavery, by claiming to exclude slavery from the Territories and looking to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves throughout the South, by changes in the Constitution to be effected in part by preventing any increase of slave States, thus rendering the Constitution, designed for the safety and protection of all the smaller and the weaker of the States in the Union, the instrument, the misnamed 'legal' instrument, of our destruction. Mr. Polk, against his own convictions, had to declare that the title of the United States to the 'whole of Oregon was unquestioned' because the Convention which nominated him so declared it; and very reluctantly he was forced to bring forward his anti-tariff measures for the same reason. Is it not asking too much of the people of Carolina and the Southern States, to shut their eyes to the great principles involved in the election of Mr. Lincoln, and to submit, simply because the forms of the Constitution have been observed? To lose sight of the platform of principles and policy which he accepted, upon which he has been elected, and which the party which elected him claim that he should carry out?

"I am, very dear Sir,
"Very Resp'y and truly
"Yr obt Svt
"H. GOURDIN."

"CHARLESTON, Dec'r. 13, 1860."

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ., New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—I wrote to you yesterday in answer to your letter of the 28th ult. stating that Messrs. Magrath, Memminger and Mitchell concurred with me in the opinion that the course of South Carolina could not now be changed, and that such a committee of gentlemen as you proposed to send to the Convention, however highly respected by us, or however highly their virtues might or would be appreciated, would be without influence now and wholly useless for the purposes indicated. Judge Magrath and myself desiring to express to you more fully our views, I send you by mail to-day a letter signed by us, as further answer to your letter of the 28th Nov., which I hope will be in time for your purposes.

"I am very Respy

"Yr. Obt. Svt.

"H. GOURDIN."

"CHARLESTON, So. CA., 8th Dec., 1860.

"TO RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ., New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—Your letter of the 28th November we have received and read. We will answer in the same spirit of frankness and candor with which it is written. 'The grave aspect of the secession movement' in this State should not surprise our 'friends' in any State. It is the natural and necessary consequence of the controlling public opinion in the non-slaveholding States in relation to our rights and our property. There is no 'undue excitement,' and 'the usual influence of conservative men' has been steadily and urgently exercised in recommending to all with whom their opinions would have weight, the secession of this State as the necessary and only mode of 'Southern resistance,' and the most 'deliberate and timely measure, to enforce redress of Southern wrongs.'

"You mistake us much when you 'fear that your [our] people ignore, or greatly undervalue, the support and sympathy' of our Southern brethren. On the contrary, the people

of this State have given the most earnest evidence of their conviction of its value, when for years they have waited until circumstances would either ensure a concurrence with them in their conclusions as to the certain tendencies of the Government, or signify that it would be necessary for the State to consult her safety unaided and alone. These circumstances have now been developed in the late Presidential election. The result of that election would have decided the course of this State, had no other Slaveholding State been willing to unite with her. But the action of other Slaveholding States, especially those known as the Cotton States, will satisfy you that, had this State pursued any other course than that she has chosen, she would not have had their 'support and sympathy,' and would not have deserved either.

"Nor have the people of this State been insensible of the efforts of those who, in the non-slaveholding States, have 'generously and potently' battled 'in behalf of Southern rights against the fell spirit of fanaticism which surrounds them.'

"The rights of the Slaveholding States have only been, while these States remained in the Union, exposed to the influence of 'this fell spirit of fanaticism.' Their sacrifice to the Union has been shown in the spirit of forbearance with which they have adhered to it, and in doing so been exposed to constant attacks; while out of it, and in themselves, and, we may say, each for itself, they possessed the most abundant capacity to maintain their institutions, and defend their rights. And although the efforts of those who have thus 'generously and potently' battled with the fanatical spirit which now governs your State, was ostensibly and honestly exercised in overcoming that sentiment which was breathing out its hatred of us and ours: we were particularly interested in the contest, as it was conducted in your State and in other States, because while impotent to affect us, even if it gained control over you, we were yet forced to see that in such control you would be exposed to fearful peril in life, liberty and property. We knew that its essential element was a lawless spirit, insolent in its

assumption of a code of morals suited only to the development of its own ends, and reckless of the restraints which society imposes upon those who compose it.

"To you the progress of this sentiment was most dangerous when in its incipiency it undertook to decide a question of property, to determine the existence of private rights. Nor have we ever doubted but that whenever by our separation from the Union, the objects which seemed to be the special aim of this fanaticism should be withdrawn forever from those who were preparing to assail it; upon you and your rights and your property would be illustrated the practical application of those doctrines, which ostensibly were being prepared for our destruction.

"Interested therefore in the political contest which has been ended by the success of the Republican party, we have watched it, because it would determine our course, not because it involved our safety.

"With the people of this State and of the cotton slaveholding States, the failure of the attempts which were made to stem the tide of Abolition sentiment, is chiefly regretted because of the desolating influences it must exercise within the limits of those States where it prevails, upon the persons and property, the life and liberty of those who within those limits may become the object of its wrath.

"We cannot, therefore, admit the correctness of your statement, that they, whose efforts to arrest these measures you have spoken of (not more highly than they deserve), 'have been driven into a minority while defending your [our] rights'; for the principles upon which our rights were attacked were the principles which would and will justify an attack upon any and all rights guaranteed by all laws human or divine. But it is true that they have been driven into a minority in defense 'of the constitutional integrity of the country,' and because of their conduct in this regard they have experienced 'the fanatical prejudices and sectional demagogism of a powerful and aggressive home party.' And if in consequence of their defeat, they are in their 'municipal relations' exposed

to acts of tyranny and wholesale pecuniary exactions hitherto unknown to American citizens; and the people of this city [New York] are subjected 'under the hostile party legislation of the Republican State administration to a degree of oppression appropriate only to a conquered province,' it must have already been made apparent to you, that in your own State a party has obtained political control which in the exercise of its power will become a bitter, blighting curse! Surely it is not to such companionship you would invite us—not to such persons that you would advise us to commit the guardianship of our liberties, our lives, our honor or our property.

"You think that you are gradually overcoming this 'fanatical sectionalism and corrupt demagogism.' We should be glad to agree with you, but we have read the law of fanaticism with other lights, if in any case where it has obtained power equal to that now held by the Republican States, it was stayed in its course until it destroyed the object against which it was directed or was destroyed by it. You have yet to realize for yourselves the increase of that Republican party under the fostering influence of an immense Executive patronage; administered so as to make the patronage of every State tributary to the accomplishment of its great end. You have as yet heard only its threats, you are yet to feel its power. And we deeply sympathize with you when that power will be exercised upon you and against you in all the plenitude of agrarian violence and atheistic cruelty.

"You assure us that a Revolution in public sentiment of the North in relation to the Constitutional rights of the South is progressing with great celerity—we are sure you are mistaken. That there ever has been a denial of the rights of the South is cause enough for the South to take care, that never again shall those rights be denied. But if it were, as you suppose, is that change of opinion honest? In what way have we made our rights plainer than they always have been and were when they were hitherto denied? There was then the same evidence of their existence, the same law to support them

which is now before the People of the non-slaveholding States. They decided that evidence to be not sufficient, that Law to be not binding. What now makes this one sufficient or the other binding? In no unkind spirit we say, it is because of a deliberate calculation of the disadvantage which they see must result to them from our separation. It teaches us the unquestionable truth that if we can defend our rights then will they be respected, and if we cannot, then will they be assailed and denied. We cannot have faith in the forbearance which results from selfish apprehension, nor can we appreciate that fraternization which compels us to wear arms against our allies.

"You tell us that the people of the North will now listen to opinions concerning the lawfulness of slavery, which ten years ago they would not have tolerated. That you and others have spoken plainly and truly to that people will be to you a high satisfaction, under the adverse circumstances which will surely follow in the train of events consequent upon the new administration of that which has been the government of the United States.

"But the truths which you have spoken have met with no response. The noble conduct of Mr. O'Conor has stimulated no one to follow him in his course; and the bold and stirring appeals of Mr. Cushing have fallen upon troubled ears, but unsympathizing hearts. You never can teach the people of the non-slaveholding States, that our system of slavery is consistent with all the truths of religion, and enforces in its practical administration the highest obligations of morality. They believe the reverse of all this; and believing thus, it may be that under a panic or controlled by some apprehension, they for the time smother their sentiments. But in proportion to the controlling influence of the necessity which for that time imposes the restraint of silence and submission, will be the irrepressible zeal to vent their anger and gratify their pent up fury, when they may do so without the apprehension of pernicious results to themselves; or when perhaps some deep excitement may make them for the time insensible and indifferent

to the suggestions of prudence. There are many men, good men and honest, who suppose that our right to the property we hold in our slaves is to be recognized by them because of the Constitution of the United States. And therefore that the source of our right and their obligation is in that instrument, not heeding that this source of their obligation and our right, as they apprehend it, is not only unsound in itself; but that it operates more directly to stimulate the attacks which have been made upon us, than any position which they could have taken. For if the Constitution is the source of their obligation and of our right, then to change that Instrument is to destroy both. To obtain therefore the control of power by which the Constitution may be changed, becomes and is the great object of all their movements. That change, with the rapid multiplication of non-slaveholding States, may be now ascertained as certain to happen, and the consequences resulting therefrom be realized within a period not distant, unless the right of a State to secede may be exercised by it, and it be enabled thus to avoid a doom which otherwise would be inevitable and overwhelming. You can thus easily see the denial of the right of Secession of a State, is a refusal to it of the privilege of securing to its citizens the protection of life, liberty and property, and consigns it and them to a servitude the most hopeless and hapless; compared to which the condition of the negro, in our midst, would be that of perfect beatitude. When you refer to a change in the opinion of those who have hitherto been hostile to us, we cannot then understand or agree with you, if by it you mean an honest change. For more than a quarter of a century sentiments hostile to us and our Institutions have been unceasingly proclaimed in the forum, taught in the school and preached in the pulpit. The present generation is controlled and that which is coming upon the theatre of life will be governed by precepts which they have imbibed from their early infancy, which have grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength. Has anyone attempted to remove a prejudice from the mind of a single individual and been encouraged with the

idea of accomplishing the same work, with ten or fifty or a hundred; or a thousand? And if the effort is addressed to millions, does not the proposition as a work to be accomplished by means merely human become overwhelming? And if you consider that while you are thus addressing yourself to the exercise of mere reason, other stronger influences are operating against you; that the schools prepare the auditor to resist your arguments; the pulpit destroys your appeal however strong; that you are made to appear the apologist of crime, the advocate of what is immoral; the subverter of what is divine; and with such influences against you where is your hope; where is your chance of success?

"When you assure us of the protection which we derive from the Congress as the means of counteracting the designs of the Executive; and the Supreme Court as favorable to our just rights; you would, if you were justified in the statement, give us assurance of safety from sources, which are incapable of affording it, if they were willing to do so. But it involves moreover the supposition of a reference of our rights to Tribunals whose authority to consider or decide upon them, we repudiate and deny. Neither Congress nor the Supreme Court has any power to decide any question for us in relation to our property in our slaves. Both of these Departments of Government have under the Constitution certain obligations to perform in relation to our recovery of that property. Both may have attempted to discharge those obligations, but both have signally failed. Many States have plainly and positively refused to recognize their constitutional obligations. The Act of Congress is a dead letter in its statutes. The Supreme Court utters its Decrees only to be derided and despised. Both Departments, if not now, may be considered within the control of the Republican party: and both will soon become mighty instruments of corruption, injustice and wrong.

"As to the probable course of the President elect, permit us to say that we prefer to hear what he says than any Republican leader; and that any Republican leader is indifferent authority with us upon any question of political justice or truth. It does

so happen, however, that within a few days, from a Republican Committee in the City of New York, we have known of a letter inviting a perusal of the opinion of Mr. Lincoln as prepared by himself; and suggesting that after such perusal we would see how groundless was the alleged wrong complained of by the South. We have carefully perused that record. In it we find that Mr. Lincoln denies that there is any such thing as property in slaves, denies that the Supreme Court has ever so decided, denies that it can so decide with consistency or truth, and tolerates the continuance of slavery in the States where it exists upon the ground of a present existing necessity. In this by necessary implication involving the assertion of a power to remove it when the necessity shall not be operative to prevent it; and, of course, in that, assuming the power to determine when and how that necessity will be regarded as not operating to prevent the denial of emancipation to our negroes.

"We need not suggest to you all that is involved in this opinion. It speaks for itself. A President who does not believe that a negro held in servitude is property, must extend to that negro the protection which the law of the United States provides for a citizen. This is his plain duty which he swears to perform, if he truly expresses his opinion. Can you ask us to confide in this man? Can we believe him, who, if he does for us what you say he will, will give us a violated oath to his God as the guaranty of his truth to the South? It was due to the earnestness of your letter that we should write to you as fully as we have done. Our purpose is fixed; our course is certain. We have adhered to the Union, while in it there remained for us respect for our State or regard for the rights of her citizens. And whatever fortune may betide our State, there is nothing which she has done in the past to justify reproach, while in the future hopefully she seeks for her people that peace, safety and happiness which it is her duty to secure for them.

"It will appear to you, then, that the presence of any persons among us, however respectable, charged with the task of urg-

ing upon us a change of our purpose, would be unprofitable and unpleasant.

"We are, dear sir, with great respect, your obedient servants.

"A. G. MAGRATH,
"H. GOURDIN."

December 10, in pursuance of the project indicated in my letter to the representative citizens of Charleston, seventeen conservative men (of whom I am the only survivor), drew up the following circular letter and sent it to several hundred distinguished residents of the City and State of New York.

"NEW YORK, Dec. 10th, 1860.

"*Dear Sir:*—The undersigned, deeming it the duty of all patriotic citizens, in a crisis like the present, to do what they can to provide a way of escape from the calamities which threaten us—not to say are already upon us—respectfully request you to meet a number of other gentlemen, to whom this circular will be sent, at the office of Richard Lathers, 33 Pine Street, on Saturday, the 15th inst., at 12 o'clock, for consultation and mutual counsel with a view to the adoption of such measures, if any can be devised, as will tend to heal the present dissensions, and restore our once happy country to peaceful and harmonious relations.

"Very respectfully,

"WATTS SHERMAN,	WILLIAM B. ASTOR,
"JOHN A. DIX,	JAMES T. BRADY,
"ERASTUS BROOKS,	AUGUSTUS SCHELL,
"C. COMSTOCK, of Albany,	STEWART BROWN,
"GUSTAVUS W. SMITH,	GERARD HALLOCK,
"EDWIN CROSSWELL,	GEO. E. BALDWIN,
"WILSON G. HUNT,	JAMES W. BEEKMAN,
"JAMES T. SOUTTER,	RICHARD LATHERS,

"WASHINGTON HUNT, of Lockport."

This meeting was not intended to be a popular one, but was to be limited to a conference of prominent public men,

regardless of their political affiliations, "for consultation and mutual counsel." The large number of cordial and prompt acceptances and the interest displayed by the press and by leading citizens satisfied the committee, however, that the office designated would not be large enough to accommodate those who would attend, so they rented a couple of new stores on the opposite side of the street, connecting them by an archway in the partition wall.

I had the privilege of calling this meeting to order. Charles O'Conor, the recognized leader of the New York bar at this time, was elected chairman, and James F. Cox, William B. B. Clerke, and Oliver G. Carter secretaries.

Mr. O'Conor, on taking the chair, spoke as follows:

"I sincerely regret that it was not your pleasure to select some other gentleman as chairman of this meeting. In these times, it is more important that we should exhibit to the public mind accessions to our ranks—to that class of our people who have given no cause for excitement, and who have done nothing to sunder the ties of affection by which the people of these United States were once held together. I should rather, much rather, that this meeting could be presided over by some gentleman, remarkable, if you please, for not having hitherto manifested much interest in this question, or remarkable, like Senator Dixon of Connecticut, who a day or two since, stepping forth from the ranks of the so-called Republican party, and placing himself before this country as a true-hearted American, devoted to conciliation, to harmony, to holding us together, to perpetuating our interests and our Union, proclaimed in the Senate of the United States the doctrine of peace, and made a manly effort in his high place—who, separating himself, as I say, from those who were at least suspected, and with whom he had been associated, made an effort worthy of the occasion and likely to be beneficial in its influence. I have no other objection to appear here, save that my appearance does not indicate the presence of a new champion for Union, a new vindicator of concord, a new foe to causes of irritation and dis-

sension, but is a mere indication—permit me to say it—that those who have been always faithful are faithful still.

"From these personal remarks I pass to a brief consideration of the question that has brought us together. Gentlemen, in a position of entire seclusion from political interests and public affairs, I have had occasion, not for a week, a month, or a single year, but for a number of years, to study with attention the grave question now presented to us by the action of political parties; and I have seen, as I conceive, during a period of some years' duration, a tendency in political action that, in my judgment, necessarily led, as an unavoidable consequence, to a dissolution of this Union. Political parties should never be divided upon moral questions, as they are called. In the phrase 'moral' I include the whole circle of religious opinion. And political parties can never be beneficially formed in a free State, founded upon the odium and detestation in which one party is required to hold the life, walk, conversation, and morals, or the religious opinions of another. It hence follows that when politicians seeking for some issue upon which to divide the community, selected as their point, as their banner, 'Odium against Negro Slavery,' they selected an issue which necessarily led sooner or later to a dissolution of the Union. It was—and no truer phrase could have been uttered; I find no fault with the expression—it was necessarily an 'irrepressible conflict,' in which one party or the other must be absolutely subdued, so that it could no longer sustain, in any degree, the contest with the other. I do not think it was an 'irrepressible conflict' in any of the senses in which the term has been used, or in the way in which it was understood by those who uttered it; but it was necessarily an irrepressible conflict. I cannot imagine it to be possible that two distinct nations—and each of these States is, for certain political purposes, and for all the purposes of this question, a distinct nation—that two distinct nations can live together in one civil government, each entertaining an utter detestation of the life and morals of the other. And permit me to say in this connection that when I speak of nations I am to be understood

as referring to the effective political majority. The effective political majority of a State in this Union speaks the voice of the State. They are the nation; the minority are a nullity; they have no voice or power. It hence follows that when an utter detestation of the life and morals of the people of Carolina has become the basis of a political party in New York, and that political party acquires an ascendency in the political affairs of the government, these two States cannot live together, except in the relation of oppressor and oppressed. The more powerful will trample on the weaker. It may trample on the weaker according to some written constitution, so that there will be no direct violation of its letter. It may trample upon it in a way justifiable by some course of argument as conformable to law, but it will trample upon the weaker after all. A political Union of distinct organized communities thus opposed in moral sentiment, can only be upheld by force. In such an Union, there can be no relation between the hater and the detested, except the relation of oppressor and oppressed. It is vain to say, 'We will give you equal laws.' It is vain to say, 'Congress can pass no laws to injure the Southern States.' It is not by legislation that the oppression will be effected. It is by the unseen but potent influence of the executive department. That influence guides the action of the government and must lead to oppression of the Southern people if it is permitted to pass into the hands of those who hate them for the love of God. Therefore, gentlemen, whilst I deplore secession as much as any man who breathes, whilst I deplore secession as fraught with the greatest evils, I have looked upon it is an inevitable event whenever those who detest the life and conversation of the Southern people acquire political control over the central government at Washington. Not as a thing that must happen on the instant, but which must pretty soon follow. It is the natural, the necessary, the inevitable consequence; and although I may dislike particular individuals at the South, and believe that they are influenced by evil motives, and take advantage of the present state of things for the purpose of advancing private ends and aims, I cannot find fault

with the South as a unit. I look upon the South as a unit, and upon the North as a unit. I do not take account of the men at the South who are influenced by bad motives. I do not take account of the men at the North who are influenced by bad motives. I look upon the South as an unit, that is the effective majority which represents the feelings and interests of the South, and I look upon the North as it is represented by that effective majority which speaks the voice of the North. And, looking at them in this way, I see that if the South cannot otherwise protect itself against the aggressive spirit of the North, there is an imperious necessity for this act of secession.

"Is the secession to come? Desponding men seem to fear it. Some bad men undoubtedly desire it. The South is full, I am sure, of men who are anxious to prevent it. I am sure that there are numerous well-known secession leaders who lead for the purpose of leading aright, intending, if they can, that the multitude who follow through the wilderness of doubt and dismay, may at last be led back into the promised land of Union and fraternity. I deem utterly unworthy the observation that the South has offended. As a unit it has not offended. As a unit it has only struggled to sustain itself against the rapidly accumulating majority of those who held its vital interests in such odium, that the destruction of those interests was a necessary consequence of their accession to power. Therefore, I say that there is no fault in the South, as a whole, and it has nothing to atone for. Let us look, then, to the North: and I ask, what are we to say of ourselves? I am myself a native of the North. My ancestors came from a country ten degrees nearer the pole than the country in which I live. I am a child of the North in every sense. I have scarcely a friend, I have no correspondents, and I have no interests, political or otherwise, in the South; and God gave me a physical constitution that would not permit me to live two degrees further South than the State in which I am placed. So I can have no personal interests, can be suspected of no personal interests, or ought not at least in common justice to be suspected of personal views, when I say that the South,

speaking of it as a unit, as one portion of this country, has not offended, and has only struggled to keep its head above the rapidly advancing waters of this black sea which has so long threatened to overwhelm it. So much as to the South. Now, as to the North: Gentlemen, do I stand here to revile it? Not at all. All my pride, all my affections, all my interests are here. My birth was in the North, and my grave shall be in the North. Let no man suspect me of infidelity to the North, or of going, cap in hand, seeking for favor of any description from the South. I demand nothing, and we demand nothing from it. But let me say, as to the North, that I have no fear of the dishonest Northern politicians. There are dishonest politicians everywhere. I have no fear of those who are denominated the leaders at the North. There is no source of evil whatever in the North, except the honest, conscientious mistake of the honest, conscientious people of the North, who have drunk in this dreadful error that it is their duty, before God and man, to crush out and to trample upon the system of industry upon which the prosperity of the South and the permanency of this Union in its present form depend. There are no enemies to this Union whose action is to be feared, except the honest, virtuous, conscientious people of the North. Let us draw away that support from the designing political factionists, and upon the instant this disturbing, mischievous controversy ends, our Union renews its youth, and appears before us as an institution designed to perpetuity and to bless untold millions for untold ages.

"Now, gentlemen, where is our hope? Why, it is in having a little space of time to look about us here at the North—in having a little time to correct our errors and to withdraw political power from those who would use it destructively. There is no other means; there is no other remedy. The question is this: Can we obtain a little time? Can we induce the South to believe in our continued fidelity, to believe in the practicability of accomplishing our hopes, that harmony may thus be restored, and such a state of things created, by means of proper guarantees, as will render the South safe within the

Union? That is the question. Undoubtedly a voice coming from the city of New York will be recognized as the voice of a friend, for here there was not only an effective majority, but a mighty majority in favor of doing entire justice to the South, and of keeping out of power this dangerous party, whose first advent to power—the very name of its advent to power—has shaken our Republic to its foundations. Can we obtain a little time? I understand the proposition is that this city shall appeal to the South for time; induce the South, if possible, to stay its hand, and be patient for a time. This, certainly, I think we ought to do. There are a great many safeguards for public liberty in our Constitution. There are a great many safeguards for the rights of oppressed States and endangered interests in our Constitution, and a resort to some one of these, if our people and our representatives in Congress would earnestly unite, might give to our friends at the South assurances that political power cannot and will not be wielded, even by the Executive, or through executive patronage, to their destruction.

"And, gentlemen, can we afford them guarantees? I think we can. In the first place, we have nothing to fear, in my judgment, except from honest men, as I have said before, who have been misled and deceived—who have been misled and deceived, in a very great degree, not by politicians, but by persons in other walks of life—by moral lecturers and by ministers of the Gospel, who have entertained—very excusably, I am willing to say—mistaken views upon this subject, taken up, perhaps, under the influence of excitement, from very improper conduct occasionally manifested on the part of Southern men in and out of Congress. There are signs of improvement in this quarter. In the still recent canvass between Fremont and Buchanan, when this identical question was before the people, it was said in the newspapers, I doubt not with substantial truth, that three thousand pulpits were pouring out their thunders against slavery, and calling upon the people, in the name of the God whom they worshiped, to give their utmost efforts to the accomplishment of the object then in

view—the election of an anti-slavery Executive. Gentlemen, you will not certainly have failed to observe that during the canvass which we have just passed through, the pulpit was almost silent upon the subject. The persons who spoke from the pulpit were so few in number that they have attained a most unenviable notoriety, and will probably be remembered for a century at least for the distinctive position in which they placed themselves, whilst the pulpit generally was, as it should generally be upon such subjects, silent. Now, that was a great improvement. It showed that a disposition to reconsider the subject had entered the minds of good men at the North. It showed that those who were excited by improper acts, by acts of violence, and violent speeches, to a feeling of hostility to the South, had begun to consider their duty—had begun the study of the volume from which they were bound to take their doctrines, and had begun to learn that it was by no means so clear that every slaveholder should be punished in this world and be necessarily consigned to perdition in the next. I say the pulpit was silent. And the pulpit has now improved upon that silence. I trust a million have already read, and millions more will read, throughout the North, the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Van Dyke, delivered on Sunday last, where, most wisely—from the attitude in which he stood, in all respects most justly and unexceptionably ignoring all mere worldly philosophy, ignoring all domination of men or parties, in Church, in State, in politics or elsewhere, and placing himself upon that which is the single guide to faith and doctrine in the judgment and fixed opinions of that great sect which he represents—the dominant sect throughout all the North—placing himself upon the Holy Scriptures of Almighty God, he showed that the people of the South, if they but perform their duties in their stations as well as we at the North in ours, lead lives as virtuous and conformable to the precepts of Almighty God, and of earthly morality, as the best men at the North.

"First, then, gentlemen, we have shown what? We have shown that an influential body which once made itself active to a dangerous end (I grant from pure motives), first paused,

and then changed its tone on full consideration. And I ask you, is there not hope that we shall live to learn throughout these Northern States that our duty is to correct our own personal vices, to reform our own minds and our own morals—to be ourselves good and kind Christians, loving and affectionate fellow-citizens? And if we needs must take cognizance of the faults and errors of other nations, and send the firebrand of incendiary documents where we can find no missionary daring enough to go, let us select the heathen in far-distant lands, and not undertake to denounce as heathens and sinners our own estimable fellow-citizens. This circumstance presents grounds for hope. It shows that there is a tendency in the Northern mind to correct itself, to reconsider its judgment, and to act more kindly and more charitably towards the people of the South.

"Well, gentlemen, there is a power at Washington that can save the people of the South, if it can but firmly unite and resolve to protect the South. I mean the Senate of the United States, where the South has a strong voice, and where many from the North are ready to sustain and support her. And as to the more distant future, as respects guaranties and final protection to the South, why let us, in God's name, if no other remedy can be had, sit down in a national convention and add one section to our Constitution. I would not alter one word of it. I am against altering the Constitutions, either of the Union or of the States, that were adopted in times that tried men's souls—in times when the fathers of this Republic, under the guidance of Almighty Providence, were laying the foundations of the first great free State that ever existed. I believe that Divine Wisdom presided over those events and the judgments that were formed in framing fundamental laws at the close of the contest. I believe that every step wherein we have departed from the fundamental laws of that day was a mistake, and that if there be any errors existing at this time in our practice, political or otherwise, the efficient cure for them is to go back to the platform upon which the fathers stood,—to return to the glorious rules and principles framed for their

posterity by those who founded the Republic. Therefore, gentlemen, I would not have a new constitution, and obliterate that great instrument, sanctioned by the name of George Washington. I would not say to the present generation or to posterity that we could improve it by altering one single word or provision of it. I would, however, be willing to add—for we have commentators on the most sacred things—I would be willing to add a provision for the purpose of removing disputes, by way of carrying out and more completely and exactly executing the things that are in it. We are told by the highest authority—by that which we, I trust, all revere—the Supreme Court of the United States—that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were made by and for the free white Caucasian race inhabiting these United States. And I would add a provision to the Constitution embracing—for the purpose of convincing those who otherwise will not see—that principle; and that would guarantee complete protection to the people of the South. I will not say precisely in what form it should be added. I will not say it, not because I have not duly and fully reflected on it, and am not prepared to say it, but because it may as well be left for greater men than I to have the honor of putting it in form, and suggesting the way in which it should be adopted. Now, gentlemen, there is no inhumanity, there is no selfishness, there is nothing that men can find fault with in laying down the rule that America was made for a free white Caucasian race and its development. We but follow the judgment of Almighty God when we say, 'America for the white Caucasian, Africa for the negro who was born in it, who is adapted to its climate, and there, in a physical sense, at least, can best flourish.' Why, if we establish the principle that this is a free white republic, and not a home for the free black man, and if the black man has in his nature and constitution a capacity of being elevated to power, and of being civilized and Christianized, what a mighty empire of free, enlightened, independent, powerful men you will have in Africa within a century or two! If they are fit for freedom, if they can enjoy and sustain self-government,

that is the way in which benevolence, which turns away from the white man and aims at elevating the black man, can have its full gratification. If the black men of the South are one day to attain their liberty, it will be when hundreds of millions of enlightened, Christian, civilized black men, in the full enjoyment of liberty, shall people the plains and hills of Africa—when that continent shall have its civilization, its commerce, its armies and its navies—then, indeed, the Southern States of this Union would be obliged to sustain an unequal conflict, or deliver up to the freedom of his native region every black slave within their borders. And thus, if indeed, as these fanatics seem to think, it be within the scheme of Almighty Providence, to elevate the black race, that race will be elevated by its own instrumentality, and in a climate most congenial to its constitution, mental and physical.

"Gentlemen, I have already kept you too long. This, to be sure, is a great subject, and I always feel, when I speak upon it, that I must either say altogether too little, or weary the patience of those who may be obliged through courtesy to listen. I have done. We have met to re-assure our Southern friends. We have met to present to them, in the strongest form in our power, the assurance of our continued action in their favor, and to concert such measures as may lead to staying the progress of their justifiable discontent. I insist upon calling it so. To stay the affirmative, final action of that justifiable discontent until we shall have had an opportunity to change the existing state of things, and relieve the South from the present position of affairs. The party which believes it a duty to suppress and crush out slavery, may be held out from the possession of political power over the central government. We may not be able to control that party in particular States, but within a very short period I sincerely believe we shall be able to hurl that party from power at Washington, and by united action we may prevent it from working mischief in the interval."

Letters were read from a number of prominent sympathizers

with the object of the meeting who were unable to be present, and addresses were made by Hon. John A. Dix, Hon. John McKeon, Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, and Hiram Ketchum. A committee of twenty-four, consisting of John A. Dix, George E. Baldwin, Gerard Hallock, Edwin Crosswell, Stephen P. Russell, James W. Beekman, Watts Sherman, John H. Brower, Elias S. Higgins, Algernon S. Jarvis, Royal Phelps, Thomas W. Ludlow, Wilson G. Hunt, Gustavus W. Smith, John M. Barbour, Thomas W. Clerke, James T. Soutter, Samuel J. Tilden, Benjamin Nott, John L. O'Sullivan, John McKeon, Wm. H. Aspinwall, Charles A. Davis, and Stewart Brown, was appointed by the Chair to draft resolutions and a proper address to the South in sympathy with their rights in the Union but opposed to secession in any form. At the close of Mr. Ketchum's address this committee reported through its chairman, General Dix, the following Address and Resolutions, which, after consideration, were adopted unanimously:

"ADDRESS.

"FELLOW CITIZENS AND BRETHREN OF THE SOUTH,

"It has become our painful duty to address ourselves to you under the most alarming circumstances in which we have been placed since the formation of the government. In the fullness of our prosperity, our strength, and our credit, the Union, to which we owe it all, is in imminent danger of becoming a prey to internal dissension, sacrificing the great interests of the country, and forfeiting the high position it holds among the nations of the earth. To avert a calamity so disgraceful to us as a free people, so disastrous to the common welfare, and so disheartening to the friends of representative government in both hemispheres, we appeal to you by the sacred memory of that fraternal friendship which bound our forefathers together through the perils of the Revolution, which has united us all through succeeding years of alternate good and ill, and which has conducted us, under the protection of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, to wealth and power by a progress

unexampled in the history of the past—by all the endearing recollections with which this association is hallowed, we conjure you to pause before the current of disunion shall acquire a force which may prove irresistible, that we may consult together, with the calmness due to the magnitude of the crisis, for the removal of the causes which have produced it. We make this appeal to you in entire confidence that it will not be repulsed. We have stood by you in the political contest through which we have just passed. We have asserted your rights as earnestly as though they had been our own. You cannot refuse, therefore, to listen to us, and to weigh with becoming deliberation the reasons we have for believing that the wrongs, which have led to the existing alienation betweeen the two great sections of the country, may, with your co-operation, be speedily redressed. We do not intend to go back to the origin of these wrongs. We will not review the dark history of the aggression and insult heaped upon you by abolitionists and their abettors during the last thirty-five years. Our detestation of these acts of hostility is not inferior to your own. We take things as they exist, to deal with them as an evil, not to be eradicated by violence, but to be remedied by a treatment which shall at the same time be considerate and firm. We call on you as friends to delay action until we can induce those, through whose agency the evil has been brought upon us, to listen to the voices of reason and duty, and to place your relations and ours to the common privileges and benefits of the Union on a footing of perfect equality; or, failing in this, until we can bring the majority of our fellow-citizens in the North to co-operate with us, as we do not doubt they will, in the proper measures of redress. We do not despair of securing from those, to whose hands the reins of government are about to be entrusted, a recognition of your rights in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves and equality in the Territories. We know that great changes of opinion have already taken place among their most intelligent and influential men—that a reaction has commenced, which is not likely to be stayed—that errors and prejudices which in the heat of the canvass

were inaccessible to reason and persuasion, have been, on cool reflection, renounced; nay, more, that many, whose opinions have undergone no change, are willing, in a praiseworthy spirit of patriotism, to make on questions, which are not fundamental in our system of government, but merely accessory to our social condition, the concessions necessary to preserve the Union in its integrity, and to save us from the fatal alternative of dismemberment into two or more empires, jealous of each other, and embittered by the remembrance of differences, which we had not the justice or the magnanimity to compose.

"Let us enumerate briefly the grounds on which we repose our trust in a speedy accommodation of the existing disagreement between the North and the South.

"I. The late election. Although it was adverse to us throughout the North, we have in the detail added materially to our strength in Congress, where the power to redress wrong and prevent abuse is most needed. In this State, against five Democratic and Union members of the present Congress, eleven members have been elected for the next; and in the other Northern States five members more have been gained, making a change of twenty-two votes in the House of Representatives, giving a decided majority in that body to the friends of the Union and the equal rights of the South, rendering all hostile legislation impossible, and affording assurance that existing wrong will be redressed.

"In regard to the general result of the election, we do not hesitate to say, that the conservative men of the North have been defeated by their own divisions, rather than by the votes of their opponents, and that it is not a true criterion of the relative strength of parties. The slavery question was but an element in the contest; it would have proved utterly inadequate to the result had not the Democratic party been disorganized by its own dissensions. Even in the City of New York, with an overwhelming majority, one of the most conservative Congress districts was lost by running two candidates against a single Republican.

"In the Congress districts carried by the anti-Republicans,

the canvass was placed distinctly on the ground of sustaining the equal rights of the States in the Territories. In the month of May last an address was published in the City of New York, reviewing the controversy between the two great sections of the country in regard to the territorial question, and assuming as a basis of settlement the following grounds:

"'1. A citizen of any State in the Union may emigrate to the Territories with his property, whether it consists of slaves or any other subject of personal ownership.

"'2. So long as the territorial condition exists, the relation of master and slave is not to be disturbed by federal or local legislation.

"'3. Whenever a Territory shall be entitled to admission into the Union as a State, the inhabitants may, in framing their constitution, decide for themselves whether it shall authorize or exclude slavery.'

"We stand on these grounds now. We believe the controversy can be adjusted on no other. Many who sustained in the late canvass a candidate, who did not assent to them, disagreed with him in opinion. We speak particularly of the City of New York; and we say with confidence that we believe the great conservative party of the North may be rallied successfully on the foregoing propositions as a basis of adjustment. In carrying them out we shall re-establish the practice of the government from its organization to the year 1820, running through the successive administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. The territory northwest of the Ohio River, in which slavery was prohibited by an ordinance adopted under the Articles of Confederation, was an exceptional case. In the other Territories emigrants from the States were freely admitted with slaves when composing a part of their families. The adoption of the Missouri Compromise under the administration of Mr. Monroe, was the first departure from the practice of the government under the Constitution. We must go back to the policy of the founders of the Republic if we hope to preserve the Union. We believe this great object can be accomplished, and that harmony may

be restored to the country, if time for action be given to those who have its destinies in their hands.

"II. The Republican party. It cannot possibly remain unbroken during the term of the incoming administration. The two chief elements—the political and religious—can never harmonize in practice. The process of separation has already commenced. While those who ostensibly represent the religious element are as fierce as ever in their denunciations, leading politicians, no doubt in view of the responsibility to devolve on the President-elect in carrying on the government, have renounced ultra opinions, and proclaimed the duty of enforcing an efficient fugitive slave law. In Boston the Union party triumphed by a majority of several thousand votes in the late municipal election, and the Abolitionists have been expelled by the people from the public halls, in which they attempted to hold their disorganizing assemblies. In other cities of New England the same reaction has taken place. The theorists and the politicians can never hold together when measures of government are to be agreed on; and it is not believed that the Republican party can sustain itself for a single year on the basis of the principles on which it was organized.

"It is a mistake to imagine that the whole Republican party, or even the great bulk of it, is really at heart, animated by any spirit hostile to the rights or menacing to the interests of the South. Anti-slaveryism has constituted but one of various political elements combined in that 'Republicanism' which has elected Mr. Lincoln. We pledge ourselves to you, that whenever a fair opportunity shall be presented of a distinct and simple vote of the North upon the full recognition of all your constitutional rights, a very large majority in nearly every Northern State will be found true to the Constitution, and true to the fraternal relations established by it between you and us.

"III. The fugitive slave law. Eight or nine States have passed laws calculated, if not designed, to embarrass the surrender of fugitive slaves. Wrong as these enactments are in

principle and in purpose, they have been practically nugatory. We believe no fugitive from service or labor has been discharged under any one of them. They are, nevertheless, utterly indefensible as the index of unfriendly feeling; they have wrought, in practice, the further injury of furnishing an example of infidelity to Constitutional obligations—an injury to us as well as to you; and no one doubts that they will, when brought before the judicial tribunals of the country, be pronounced violations or evasions of a duty enjoined by the Constitution, and therefore void.

"A movement has already been made in Vermont (the most hopeless of the Republican States) to repeal her personal liberty bill, and the question, as we understand it, is yet undecided in the hands of a committee. Massachusetts, it is believed, will repeal hers at the approaching session of her legislature. Nor is it doubted that Mr. Lincoln, who has publicly declared that the fugitive slave law must be faithfully executed, will exert his influence to procure the abrogation of all conflicting enactments by the States. That it is the duty of the States to repeal them, without waiting for the Courts to pronounce them invalid, no man, who justly appreciates the existing danger, will deny.

"IV. The conservative men of the North. Since the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, we have firmly maintained your rights under them. Previous differences of opinion were cheerfully renounced. The contest with the ultraism of the Republican party, active and strong as it is, has not been unaccompanied by personal sacrifices on our part. They have been encountered unhesitatingly, and without regard to political consequences to ourselves. We felt that we had a stake in the issue not less important than you. Believing the Union essential to the prosperity and honor of the country; holding that its dissolution would not only overwhelm us with calamity and disgrace, but that it would give a fatal shock to the cause of free government throughout the world, we have sought by all practicable means to maintain it by carrying out with scrupulous fidelity the compromises of the Constitution. Though

beaten at the late election, it is our sincere belief that we are stronger on this question now than we have been at any previous time. We believe we are nearer a solution satisfactory to you than we ever have been. We regard it as certain to be accomplished, unless it is defeated by precipitate action on your part.

"These are a few of the grounds on which we rely for an adjustment of existing differences. There are others which we deem it needless at this juncture to press on you. But we should leave the view we take of the question unfinished, if we were not to add, that any violation of your constitutional rights by the incoming administration, if it were attempted, would meet with as prompt and as determined a resistance here as it would from yourselves. We desire it to be distinctly understood that we speak with full knowledge of the import of our words; and that we pledge ourselves to such a resistance by all the means which may be necessary to make it effective. But we are satisfied no such danger is to be feared. It cannot, in the nature of things, be an ultra administration. No party in power, under our system of government, can fail to be conservative, no matter on what declarations the canvass may have been conducted by its leading supporters. There is an under current of moderation in the flow of popular opinion, which will inevitably withhold those, to whom the great interests of the country are only temporarily confided, from running rashly into extremes.

"Let us then, fellow-citizens and brethren, again appeal to you to abstain from any movement which shall have for its object a dissolution of the political bonds, which have so long, and so happily for us all, united us to each other. They have given us honor, wealth, and power. If occasional differences have disturbed the general harmony, they have been speedily adjusted with fresh accessions of benefit to the common welfare. No nation has had so uninterrupted a career of prosperity. To what are we to attribute it but to the well-adjusted organization of our political system to its several parts? We do not call on you to aid us in upholding it on these considera-

tions alone. There are others of a more personal nature—not addressing themselves to you as communities of men merely, but as individuals like ourselves, bound to us by ties of reciprocal obligation, which we call on you in all candor to respect. We should not make this appeal to you on an occasion of less magnitude. But when the very foundations of society are in danger of being broken up, involving the peace of families, the interests of communities, and the lasting welfare and reputation of the whole confederacy of States, no feeling of delicacy should dissuade us from speaking freely and without concealment. We call on you, then, as brethren and friends, to stand by us as we have stood by you.

"During the angry contentions of the last nine years, we have been the open and unshrinking vindicators of your rights. It is in fighting with you the battle for the Constitution that we have by an unfortunate combination of causes been overthrown—not finally and hopelessly (far from it)—but temporarily only, and with a remaining strength, which needs only to be concentrated to give us the victory in future conflicts. Is it magnanimous—nay, is it just—to abandon us when we are as eager as ever to renew the contest, on grounds essentially your own, and leave us to carry it on in utter hopelessness for want of your co-operation and aid? We cannot doubt the response you will give to this appeal. You cannot fail to see that by hastily separating yourselves from us, you will deprive us of the co-operation needed to contend successfully against the ultraism which surrounds us, and may leave us without power in a political organization imbued, by the very act of separation, with a rancorous spirit of hostility to you. We conjure you then to unite with us to prevent the question of disunion from being precipitated by rash counsels and in a manner altogether unworthy of our rank among the great nations of the earth, and of the destinies which await us if we are only true to ourselves.

"If the event shall prove that we have overstated our own ability to procure a redress of existing wrongs, or the disposition of others to concede what is due to you, as members

of a confederacy, which can only be preserved by equal justice to all; let us, when all the efforts of patriotism shall have proved unavailing, when the painful truth shall have forced itself on the conviction that our common brotherhood can be no longer maintained in the mutual confidence, in which its whole value consists—in a word, when reconciliation shall become hopeless, and it shall be manifest (which, may God forbid!) that our future paths must lie wide apart; let us do all that becomes reasonable men, to break the force of so great a calamity, by parting in peace. Let us remember that we have public obligations at home and abroad, which for our good name must not be dishonored—that we have great interests within and without—on the ocean, in our cities and towns, in our widely extended internal improvements, in our fields and at our firesides—which must not be inconsiderately and wantonly sacrificed. If undervaluing the great boon of our prosperity, we can no longer consent to enjoy it in common, let us divide what we possess on the one hand, and what we owe on the other, and save the Republic—the noblest the world has seen—from the horrors of civil war and the degradation of financial discredit.

"If, on the other hand (which may God grant!), you shall not turn a deaf ear to this appeal—if it shall be seen in the sequel that we have correctly appreciated the influences which are at work to bring about a reconciliation of existing differences, and a redress of existing wrongs; if mutual confidence shall be restored, and the current of our prosperity shall resume its course, to flow on, as it must, with no future dissensions to disturb it, and in perpetually increasing volume and force; it will be the most cheering consolation of our lives that in contributing to so happy an issue out of the prevailing gloom, we have neither misjudged your patriotism, nor the willingness of our common countrymen to do you justice."

"THE RESOLUTIONS.

"WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States was designed to secure equal rights and privileges to the people of all the States, which were either parties to its formation or which have subsequently thereto become members of the Union; and whereas, the said instrument contained certain stipulations in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves, under the designation of 'persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another,' which stipulations were designed to be complied with by the act of Congress making provision for such surrender; and whereas, the agitated state of the country, arising out of the differences of opinion in regard to these provisions, demands that we should declare explicitly our sense of the obligations arising under them; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the delivery of fugitive slaves to their masters is an obligation enjoined by the Constitution, in which all good citizens are bound to acquiesce; and that all laws passed by the States with a view to embarrass and obstruct the execution of the act of Congress making provision therefor, are an infraction of that instrument and should be promptly repealed.

"*Resolved*, That the Territories of the United States are the common property of the people thereof; that they are of right, and ought to be, open to the free immigration of citizens of all the States, with their families, and with whatever is the subject of personal ownership under the laws of the States from which they emigrated; that the relation of master and slave cannot, during the territorial condition, be rightfully disturbed by federal or local legislation; and that the people of any such Territory can only dispose of the question of slavery in connection with their own political organization, when they form a constitution with a view to their admission into the Union as a State.

"*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves to uphold these principles by all the means in our power: to seek by all prac-

ticable efforts a redress of the wrongs of which the Southern States justly complain, and to maintain their equality under the Constitution, in the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges it confers.

"*Resolved,* That while we deplore the existing excitement in the Southern States, we do not hesitate to say that there is just ground for it. But we earnestly entreat our Southern brethren to abstain from hasty and inconsiderate action, that time may be afforded for bringing about a reconciliation of existing differences, and that the Union of the States—the source of our prosperity and power—may be preserved and perpetuated by a restoration of public harmony and mutual confidence.

"*Resolved,* That Hon. Millard Fillmore, Hon. Bronson C. Greene and Richard Lathers, Esq., be appointed a committee to proceed to the South, with a view to make such explanation to our Southern brethren, in regard to the subjects embraced in the Address and Resolutions, as they may deem necessary, and to give such further assurances as may be needed to manifest our determination to maintain their rights.

"*Resolved,* That, in case either of the gentlemen named in the foregoing resolution be unable to perform the service for which he is appointed, the Committee on the Address and Resolutions be authorized to fill the vacancy."

During the weeks immediately succeeding the Pine Street meeting I received many letters of the most discouraging character from prominent citizens of the South. The four letters I append herewith are fair samples of them all:

"Charleston, S. C., Jan. 1st, 1861.

"Richard Lathers, Esq.,

"Winyah Park, New Rochelle.

"*My Dear Sir:*—I have to thank you for the *Journal of Commerce* containing the proceedings of the New York meeting of conservative men. I was greatly pleased with your speech, and the others made, and especially with the Address.

I only wish that you and your friends had moved sooner. Some good might possibly have been done; but our State had become too far committed to halt in her actions, pressed as she was from every quarter to go on. Even such men as Mr. Daniel Rudisch, always wedded to the Union, considered the State so committed that she could not retract with honor. Besides, there was no evidence of any yielding on the part of the Republican party, and what was the South to do? Could she submit to the inauguration of a Party in Washington pledged to the ultimate overthrow of her institutions? And now coercion is threatened, because we avail of the only measure left for escape, and what makes matters worse all parties in the Northern states seem to fall into the ranks of those who demand it. Have we no friends among her people? None to stay the hand of war? None who prefer a peaceful separation, rather than one of blood? If they succeed in destroying us, will they not destroy State sovereignty, the very essence of American liberty, and establish in its stead, a central, consolidated despotism, which no State or section can hereafter resist? And yet war seems inevitable, for nowhere does there rise up any apparently able person to prevent it, and all before us is full of sadness and trouble.

"This is the first day of the new year, and it is melancholy that the usual congratulations of the season cannot be extended to you; for who can wish many returns of such a period of political strife, of brothers standing face to face and on the eve of shedding each other's blood?

"Recent occurences in this harbor, and in Washington, have greatly added to the excitement here and throughout the South, complicating matters still further and rendering a collision with the government most difficult to be avoided. The only chance for the Union now is to let the Cotton States go peaceably, and to commence an early negotiation for a new Union. It might succeed; for Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina would aid this measure, while portions of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi would be favorable to it. On the other hand, co-

ercion will drive them off forever, and along with them Kentucky and Tennessee. I fear, however, that all is too late and that nothing now but a miracle can arrest the onward course towards destruction and war. I notice this morning that the Bank of Commerce has taken the balance of the Government loan of two millions. The rate is a high one, twelve per cent., but still it disappoints me to find New York capitalists aiding the government at this time under even the most tempting offers of profits. How will the New York Governor and the legislature receive the proposition that the State of New York should raise troops to sustain the government? . . . . .

"Yours very truly,

"H. GOURDIN."

"TALLAHASSEE, FLA., Jan. 5th, 1861.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS,

"Winyah Park, New Rochelle.

"*My Dear Sir:*—I was unable to write you on my way home, having hurried through as fast as railroads could bring me. I reached here on the 3rd inst. having intercepted a large number of delegates to our Convention, some thirteen miles above here. The Convention convened that day, organized temporarily, and in consideration of yesterday's being the National Fast, adjourned over till to-day. So you see we consider ourselves yet one of the United States and have respect to the authority of the present administration. The complexion of our convention is decidedly *colored*. A small majority favor immediate secession and it is now more than likely that on Monday the 7th inst., Florida will become a separate Republic. The returns from Georgia thus far indicate that the State has gone secession largely. If this is confirmed, there will be no longer a shadow of doubt as to the action of the Cotton States.

"Throughout Virginia and North Carolina the secession spirit is gathering strength daily. This I get from leading gentlemen of both States. The truth is, the spirit of determined resistance to Black Republican rule is widespread and nothing

can stay the march of the present revolution but a complete breaking down of the Republicans on the Territorial question, and this I conceive to be beyond hope. My impression, then, gathered from every quarter through which I have passed, is that the Cotton States will secede separately and immediately; to be followed in a very short period by the border States and thus will result a Southern Confederacy.

"I will write you more at length as leisure gives me opportunity.

"With grateful recollection of your courtesy and attentions,

"I am, very truly yours,

"HUGH ARCHER."

"TALLAHASSEE, Jan. 22nd, 1861.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS, New York.

"*My Dear Colonel:*—Your esteemed favor is just received, and I regret to see that you are less hopeful as events progress. I feel much more hopeful to-day than I did two weeks since. I read Mr. Seward's speech last night and I must say I gathered some consolation therefrom. He evidently ignores the irrepressible. As an ultimatum it won't do at all; but I regard this speech as an entering wedge. Tell your people to press conciliation. It is useless to talk of whipping in the South. It can't be done. We are much better prepared for fighting than we believe ourselves to be, and the nerve is here. Old Waddy Thompson misrepresented the Northern people when he said there is no fight in them. We know they will fight, but we will be defending our homes in such a fight, and so our people regard it. The trouble is they are too anxious. We have adopted secession as a remedy, not because we abhor the Union with the Constitution. I believe everything will come right, and we can reconstruct upon a fair and equitable basis. It can't be done though by coercion. The only obstacle I see is Old Buck; he is not equal to the emergency. . . . . .

"I see your friend Gen. Dix is in the Cabinet.

"Yours truly,

"HUGH ARCHER."

"GEORGETOWN, S. C., Feb. 3, 1861.

"COL. R. LATHERS,

"Winyah Park, New Rochelle, N. Y.

"*Dear Lathers:*—Accept thanks for the documents you have from time to time sent me. I would have acknowledged the receipt of them before, but I was away from home performing in my humble way, the duties of Senator from the good old parish which gave me birth and gives me bread.

"No one in the State came more reluctantly than myself to the conclusion, that this Union would, and ought to be dissolved. But the conclusion was irresistible. All hope of reconstructing it is as vain and futile, as 'was the attempt of the builders on the plains of Shinar to connect earth with heaven.' It is irrevocably broken up, and neither conciliation nor compromise, nor blood nor fire, nor sword can bind it together again. The North and South have lost faith and confidence in each other. In fact they hate each other with a deeper and more bitter hate than Frenchmen ever betrayed to Englishmen; such being the case, harmony and good feeling can never be restored between the sections. The spirit of intolerance, which has always marked the conduct of the Puritan, has taken full possession of the Northern mind. The prevalence of that spirit is inconsistent with our rights and interests, and threatens our very existence if we remain in the Union. The Constitution, the paramount law of the land, has completely lost its hold upon the affections of the people of the North, and so far as protection to the South under it is concerned, it is as impotent of power as a blank sheet of paper would be. It is idle to talk about amendments to the Constitution. It is good enough as it is. What avail is the most ample provision on parchment for our protection and safety, if the spirit of the people is against carrying it into execution? On the plea of raising revenue, we have been robbed by plundering tariffs. Under the so-called 'right of petition,' we have been insulted in the language of the fish-market. On the plea of raising a nursery for seamen, our amiable brethren of New England receive annually large sums of money from the public

treasury, for being accommodating enough to catch and eat their own codfish; which sums are piously expended in the humane work of stealing our negroes!

"If the denunciation of us and our institutions came alone from politicians and place men, we might hesitate; but we believe and know that the abolition of African slavery in the States, is the dominant political faith of the people of the North. We are satisfied that it is a religious sentiment, which they honestly entertain. The young men and women of the North have sucked their sentiment at their mothers' breasts, and learned it at their mothers' knees. It is taught at their schools and colleges that our system of slavery is a sin so demoralizing as to make barbarians of us. The pretended heralds of the Cross, Sabbath after Sabbath, desecrate their pulpits by a recital of the imaginary wrongs and enormities of which the slave-holder is held up as the cause, and the slave, the victim; and thousands hang breathless on their words.

"Under such a state of things how can we live together? There can be no more affiliation between the people of the North and the South, than there can be between truth and falsehood, courage and cowardice. It would be as easy to harmonize equality with inferiority, as to live together again with this sentiment, active, dominant and aggressive, added to the fact that all the energetic tendencies of the incoming administration, will combine to swell the force and consolidate the dominion of Abolition. Where is our safety and what is our resource, if we do not go out of this Union, although we might be obliged to cut our very way out with the sword? It is to-day an almost universal sentiment, from South Carolina to the Rio Grande, that any government is preferable to the 'vulgar tyranny' of the Yankee, whose conscience is never offended and whose sensibility is never wounded by any transaction or thing which places money in his pocket. Even the horrors of the 'Middle Passage' find with him justification in the lap full of gold, which his inhuman traffic fetches, while in hypocritical and deceitful tone he whines over the imaginary distresses of the most happy and contented, and best-cared-for

people on the globe. With such a people we can no longer remain in partnership, and will not. We would be less than men and more than cowards, if the apprehension of civil war, with all its concomitant tumult, distress, peril and misery arrested our course. When I speak of the people of the North, I speak of them collectively as communities, and body politics—as States. We all know and appreciate the patriotic stand taken by the O'Conors and Bradys and yourself, and your immediate political friends; but it cannot close our eyes to the significant fact, that the Constitutional men at the North are in a hopeless minority, and powerless to stay the course of those who are bent on our destruction. It is with us not merely a question of policy or expediency, but one of existence, which you must look squarely in the face. The stake is life against death, and with God's aid we will play a bold game to win. If we win, our children will bless our memory; if we lose, history, which seldom judges unjustly and never ungenerously, will certainly record that we did not part with our birthright without a brave effort to keep it. But we have no fear of defeat. We are contending for our homes and our firesides, our families and our altars; and the encouraging smiles and the sacred tears of our wives and our daughters, bid us do our duty bravely and well.

"But why may we not part in peace? It is useless to disguise the fact, that we can never again live together in peace. As two peoples we may get along; as one, we never can. The perfidious treachery and faithlessness of Mr. Buchanan will probably prevent a peaceful solution of our difficulties. Untrue to friends and treacherous to foes, and playing coward to both, he has earned a degree of infamy which will attach to his name forever. Reckless of plighted faith and regardless of personal honor, he will live in history only to be despised. His whole course has been one of duplicity and cowardice. He has deliberately attempted to deceive both sides, and has been detected and exposed by both. But enough of him.

"If it should so happen that civil war is to follow the course which our necessities oblige us to pursue, we feel that none of

its responsibility will attach to us. We have never concerned ourselves with the local institutions of the North. We have left them to determine their own affairs according to their own comforts, and we are determined to manage our affairs according to our own will and pleasure, unmindful of the smiles or frowns of the people of the North.

"With the liveliest remembrance of the pleasant and happy times we had together in this good old town, I am,

"Very truly and faithfully your friend,

"BENJAMIN N. WILSON."

CHAPTER V

SOUTHERN MISSION

In spite of the unfavorable tone of the letters received from Southerners and the rush of events towards secession, the mission to the South arranged for by the Pine Street meeting was not abandoned. Mr. Bronson C. Greene and Ex-President Fillmore having excused themselves from serving as envoys—the latter on the ground of feeble health—the Committee on Address and Resolutions requested me to undertake the mission alone, and I consented to do so.

Accordingly, I left New York in February, 1861, for the South. At Washington I found the Peace Convention, presided over by Ex-President Tyler, in session. This convention, made up of delegates from the several States, which was due to the initiative of Virginia, was the last organized effort to prevent secession. It was unable to provide a peaceful solution of the difficulties which the leaders in Congress were willing to adopt; and yet,—with a few radical exceptions—there seemed to be a great desire among the delegates to bring about a reconciliation.

I was particularly well received by Ex-President Tyler and Vice-President Breckinridge, who, with other Southern leaders, gave me warm letters of introduction to the President of the Confederacy and to prominent men in the cities to which my mission led me.

In Richmond I had the pleasure of meeting James Lyons and other distinguished Virginians who, while expressing sympathy with the Address and the purpose of the mission, regarded the "overture," as they called it, as coming too late to accomplish its patriotic purpose. I could perceive a strong desire to save the Union among the substantial citizens, but this Union sentiment was constantly antagonized by secession

orators who predicted that the in-coming administration would be an Abolition administration with so much positiveness as to alarm the slave holders.

On reaching Charleston I found the city filled with the leading men of the State, who were employed in forming an independent government, devising a tariff for revenue, constructing fortifications, and organizing an army.

My former Major, General Jameson, was Secretary of War of the Secession Government, and my former brigadier-general, Harlee (under whose command I had been drilled in camp duty as Colonel of the 31st Regiment of South Carolina Militia), was Postmaster-General. The former U. S. Minister to Russia, General Pickens, had been recently elected Governor of the State. My old and valued friend Judge Gordon Magrath, who had resigned from the United States District Court, was his Secretary of State, and another esteemed friend, Hon. C. G. Memminger, his Secretary of the Treasury. These officials had always been conservatives and had been known as earnest Union men. Unfortunately, their judgment had been overborne by the dangerous Southern dogma of State Sovereignty.

At a dinner given to me by Governor Pickens, I presented to him with appropriate remarks the New York "Address." The Governor responded feelingly that the proceedings of the New York meeting and its Address were worthy of their source, but that this effort at the North to placate the South had come too late, he was sorry to say, to save the Union. Yet here and elsewhere in the South I could perceive in the midst of much bluster for war, hopes that a peaceful settlement would be effected by the efforts of the conservatives throughout the country. I met the leading citizens in their clubs, counting-houses, and banks, as well as in their parlors, and I found that there were among them not a few earnest Union men who were following the lead of such distinguished Charlestonians as Hon. James L. Petigru, Hon. George S. Bryan, Hon. Alfred Huger (Postmaster of the city,) Ex-Governor William Aiken (the Astor of Charleston and the wealthiest citizen in the State), and Col. Donald L. McKay (President of the principal

Charleston bank). These gentlemen, Southerners of the highest type, although resenting strongly the Abolitionist encroachments upon Southern rights, opposed secession as a remedy worse than the disease, advocating, instead, Calhoun's idea of legislative resistance within the Union. Yet such is the power of sectional enthusiasm that they were unable to resist secession effectively—the more that the youths in their own families were in many cases among the most zealous secessionists.

The Governor and my old friend General Jameson invited Mrs. Lathers and myself to visit with a party of ladies and gentlemen Fort Moultrie, where the young recruits for the Confederate army were encamped.

In passing down the harbor our attention was attracted by a singular object resembling in appearance a gigantic packing box. It was a flat-bottomed scow (such as is used on the Southern rivers for the transportation of cotton), supplied with artillery and roofed over with bars of railway iron which formed a sort of bomb-proof protection for the artillery in action. This floating battery was found to be effective at its first trial in the attack on Fort Sumter. It was here, perhaps, that the iron-clad craft in this country had its origin.

When our party reached Fort Moultrie, the ladies took their stand to be saluted by a discharge of artillery. Unfortunately, either the guns were not secure or they were overloaded, for one of them tumbled off the parapet when it was fired, greatly to the alarm of the fair friends of the artilleryman and greatly to the mortification of General Jameson, who had invited us to witness the proficiency of the young recruits. The General, after taking us around the fortifications and calling our attention to the great progress of the soldiers, most of whom were students in the Military Academy and young men of distinguished families, asked me, "What have you to say?" "It makes me feel sad," I answered, "as I reflect that these young men are too precious to the State to be made food for gunpowder in a civil war. They will fight chiefly against hired, enlisted foreigners. The rich North can hire

more foreigners when the Northern ranks are depleted; but by what means can you replace these scions of your best families? To me, General, this coming war is an unequal hazard. You stake the vital institution of the State and your best blood against fearful odds. You must recollect that the Yankees fought in the Revolution for your firesides as well as for their own. It is unsafe to suppose that lapse of time has rendered their sons incapable of defending their Union."

Anent the preparations for the attack on Fort Sumter, the celebrated Charleston Sheriff, Sandy Brown, told me a story that is worth repeating. President Davis, it seems, had detailed several experienced military engineers to perfect the batteries intended for assaulting the Fort. Numerous conferences were held as to the possibility of capturing it without loss of life on either side; for even the most pronounced secessionists desired to avoid bloodshed. During one of these conferences a French military engineer, who claimed to have a well-digested plan for taking the Fort without any loss of Confederate soldiers, sent in his card. He was invited in and seated at the table. After drinking the health of President Davis, he set about developing his plan. From a little box he took several miniature vessels which he called *bateaux*. He placed a decanter of Madeira in front of him to represent Fort Sumter, and arranged the little vessels in a circular line for the attack. He called the attention of his audience to the very high bulwarks intended to protect the attacking force and explained that they were to be let down when the cannon were fired. He then commenced to demonstrate: "Zis *bateau* sail forward, let down ze bulwark and fire ze cannon, bam! ! ! Ze Yonkee fall. Zis little *bateau* come forward, let down ze bulwark, fire ze gun, bam! ! ! and ze Yonkee fall." The Confederate officers stood this until the French officer had discharged the third cannon, when the Chairman said, "But suppose the Fort should fire into your fleet?" "What!" said the astonished Frenchman, "Ze fort fire! ze fort fire! !" "Why certainly," said the disgusted officer. "Ah, den, ze experiment will fail." The French officer had understood from what he had heard

that the Yankees were prohibited by the Constitution from making war on a sovereign State. The fact is that the slowness of the Government in asserting its power against this perversion of the State Rights doctrine in South Carolina largely encouraged secession in other States.

At every reception to which Mrs. Lathers and I were invited I found exceedingly clever feminine antagonists fully equipped with the most ingenious arguments in defense of secession. To turn the current of conversation on one occasion I said to one of these fair secessionists, "Surely Miss ——, you are not in favor of your fiancé going to fight the Yankees on the eve of your marriage." She quickly replied, "If he had not promptly volunteered for the defense of our State, he never could have entered this house; and, indeed, he could not have had access to any parlor in the city again. No woman of Carolina would for a moment tolerate a coward."

It may be safely affirmed that the women of the South perfected if they did not originate secession; for, while I met many Union men in Charleston, I did not meet a single Union woman. This feminine influence filled the Confederate army with enthusiastic young men and drove even poltroons to take up arms.

Notwithstanding all this revolutionary fervor, the best of good feeling towards Northern residents or visitors prevailed in Charleston. I was permitted to treat the most burning issues night after night in clubs and social gatherings, and was replied to with the politeness customary at the South between gentlemen. Perhaps the abuse which was being heaped upon me at this time by radical journals at the North tended to endear me to these people. But, in general, the question of secession could be freely and fully discussed in any quarter, public or private. Secession was held to be so far above dispute that Unionist ideas were rather to be pitied than resented.

One evening, in the parlor of the Mills House, the Captain of a United States armed vessel which had brought into port a captured slaver, was conversing with a number of prominent gentlemen. He was explaining the mode of the capture and

the probable result to the negroes and crew. A drunken fellow kept interrupting him and the officer kept moving away from him till the fellow, deliberately placing himself in front of him, said, "You are a damned liar." The officer, a six-foot native of Maine, with a hand like a sledge hammer, drew off and struck him in the face with such power as to send him about ten feet into the corner of the room as limp as a bag of bones. The spectators neither moved nor spoke. The fellow, perceiving that he had no sympathy, gathered himself together, and, with a reproachful look at the company, left the room. Then one of the men, Ex-Governor Gist, I think (among the first of these brave men to sacrifice his life at Bull Run), quietly said, "Go on, Captain, with your story." The next morning a very rabid secession Colonel grasped the Captain by the hand and said, "You are a brave man. We were all delighted with your patient and gallant conduct last night; but when you return home, don't boast of slapping a Carolinian in the face. That fellow is not a Southerner. No Southern gentleman would have insulted a stranger at such a time. The fact is, he is the son of a Yankee tailor, anxious to curry favor by displaying a sort of cheap patriotism that would disgrace our cause."

A ludicrous incident of a somewhat different nature occurred one day in the space in front of the Post Office building, which was much used as a forum by persons wishing to harangue the people on public matters. A very pleasing speaker, who had taken an empty barrel for a rostrum, was orating on the necessity of secession, and was giving profuse assurances of the support of the Democratic party in the North. In accentuating his speech he stamped very violently on the barrel head, which gave way, and in falling into the barrel he fractured his leg. The audience, filled with sympathy, sent him tenderly to the hospital. The next day exposed the fact that he was a correspondent of the New York *Tribune* who had been most abusive of the Secessionists of the State. The joke was fully appreciated, and he was most kindly cared for at the hospital until able to return to the North.

The following private letter which I wrote from Charleston and which was printed in the New York *Journal of Commerce* of March 9, 1861, gives a clearer idea of conditions in Charleston at that time than any memories I can now evoke:

"People's Bank,
"Charleston, March 1, 1861.

"*My dear Sir:*—There appears to be no young man here who is not on active duty, almost daily. Indeed, on reflection, I cannot recall a single individual of my acquaintance under forty years of age who is not enrolled for duty; and most of them are actively engaged. My visit here has been one of great pleasure. I meet daily the leading civil and military officers of the State, in the most unreserved manner; and, although you know I never conceal my love of the Union, and my regret that it is to be broken up, yet my views are tolerated. The Governor told me a few nights ago, that when he heard that a Commission had been appointed by the Pine Street Meeting to visit the State, he directed a telegraphic dispatch to be sent to New York, to say that the Commission would be received with all honor. I was mortified to find that he had not received a copy of our proceedings. The sentiment of that meeting was grateful to public feeling here, and Mr. McKeon's speech was considered a true exposition of the Southern views on the subject at that time.

"Then, the Union could have been saved, by a prompt cessation of Republican aggression; and Georgia was regarded by the most sanguine here, as opposed to secession, till Major Anderson garrisoned Fort Sumter, contrary to express agreement between the Governor and the President: and even after that, had the least glimmering of redress come from Washington the secession would have been confined to South Carolina.

"There was a latent love of the Union, even in Charleston, till the last hope was literally crushed out by the hostile, defiant and most abusive course of Republican leaders and newspapers in Washington and at the North. Only men of refinement can appreciate the effect of such hostility upon a brave people

who, feeling themselves and their institutions maligned, are taunted as too cowardly to resent the insult. Stolid men and lovers of material wealth have a very inadequate idea of the sensitiveness which prevails in a community like that of South Carolina, as to its institutions and the sacred character of reputations, personal and political. No man whose reputation can be assailed in a point of honor fills a political position here. And perhaps the great source of the present unanimity in defense of State rights against the fearful odds of Federal power (by no means underrated here), is the unflinching confidence which every South Carolinian feels in every other South Carolinian under the most trying circumstances. No one here dares deceive his neighbors; if one marches through the fire he is sure to be fully supported in the terrible ordeal; shoulder to shoulder all invoke a common fate.

"Did I not daily see the contrary, I should suppose that a sense of prudence would sometimes tone down the extraordinary temerity of these people—that the demand for sacrifices of financial prosperity, of comfort, and of life itself would limit, at least to some extent, this enthusiastic devotion to an idea. But no. On the part of all ages, sexes and conditions, there is a determination to resist Northern domination, and to assert the sovereignty of their State in the most practical manner and at any cost of life or treasure.

"All this, too, is done in the most calm, and thoughtful manner. The dangers are fully admitted, the sacrifices freely discussed. No attempt is made to disguise the facts.

"My old friend Judge Frost, a gentleman of the old school, took me by the hand a few days since, and pushing aside his gray hair, in a manner peculiar to him, said, 'I may never see you again; I have enjoyed the comforts of affluence, and may soon descend to poverty, or may lose the lives of those dearest to me, and perish myself in the coming struggle; but Union man as I have always been (as you know), I have with every deliberation counted the cost, and I give my free consent to the position of my State, and she shall have my last feeble efforts in her defense, to vindicate her rights and separate her

people from those that have hated and maligned her institutions.'

"I met, a few nights ago, a distinguished and accomplished young lady who had been engaged during the day, as all the women here are now, in making clothing for the soldiers. She informed me that her two brothers were in the army at Sullivan's Island, and that her father had just broken his leg accidentally, a misfortune which she, in common with him, deplored solely because she feared hostilities might be commenced before he should be sufficiently restored to join his sons. You can form no idea of the universality of the enthusiasm for the defense. One half of the employees of every bank, insurance company and mercantile or industrial establishment are performing active military duty. So are about the same proportion of the officers and proprietors of most of these establishments. Furthermore, those who are not engaged in active duty drill nights. The professional men, not excluding the clergy, are performing tasks connected with the general defense. The women not only vie with each other in restricting their expenses for dress and in giving these economies to the military chest, but are fabricating clothing and other comforts for the army. My friend General Harlee, who, you will recollect, distinguished himself years ago in the Florida War, and more recently as President of one of our State railroads, is here in the capacity of Lieutenant Governor, and a leading member of the Council informs me that the services of a company have just been accepted from his own section of the State, whose aggregate wealth is over a million of dollars. There is a single regiment now stationed at one of the forts, whose destruction would put every distinguished family in the State in mourning. One of the companies there is commanded by a Minister of the Episcopal church, and has in the ranks ten divinity students. My old schoolfellow, the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, one of the most pious and practically charitable clergymen in the city, adds to his other duties the Chaplainship of one of the Volunteer Corps (composed of his old friends and college mates) which is stationed on the coast. He informs

me that, being rowed to the city from the camp last Sunday, he had the curiosity to notice the names of the persons ordered out of the ranks to row the boat and was surprised to find a Huger, a Lounds, a Rutledge, and a Ravenel,—four of the most distinguished names of the State. Even the slaves seem to take intense pleasure in helping their masters in the trenches.

"While I write, a large number of slaves pass my window, just relieved from one of the forts. Each of them has his blanket and his cooking apparatus, sports a palmetto branch in his hat and whistles or sings a popular air to march by. Last week I visited the foundry, and found the negroes casting cannon balls. A Northern lady with me said 'See those slaves making balls to kill Abolitionists with!' Nothing can be more preposterous than the idea that the negroes are an element of weakness to the South. Mutual kindness and confidence are patent everywhere, and I was struck with the remark of a lady to a friend of mine a few days ago, when she requested him 'not to be absent all night, as he must recollect that since John's death she had no protection on the premises during his absence,' John being a slave who lived and slept in the kitchen building. He had died quite recently, while Mistress did the last offices at his bedside, and Master was vainly rubbing his paralyzed limbs to restore animation.

"At present, the larger part of the white population is engaged in military affairs, leaving the negroes almost alone on the plantations; but crops are being put in as usual and such a thing as fear of an insurrection is never thought of.

"The expenses of the defenses here of course are very heavy, but they have been defrayed thus far without any inconvenience by voluntary contributions of all the citizens, and the seven per cent. loan is being daily subscribed for by all classes, who seem to desire to assist the State in its trying exigency.

"I am

"Very truly yours,

"Richard Lathers."

From Charleston I went to Savannah and Augusta, Georgia, where as a New York commission merchant I had formerly had many correspondents.

On reaching Savannah I found the Governor of the State located in the same hotel with myself. Governor Brown was an extreme secessionist, recruited from the old nullification faction of South Carolina, of which State he was a native. He had just seized three New York ships in retaliation for the seizure of a consignment of arms belonging to the State of Georgia. This unfortunate zeal without knowledge and discretion on the part of the police of New York, produced great excitement in Savannah as a clear violation of law under the Constitution. Even Union men here were compelled to resent it as an insult to the State which could not be of any assistance in conserving the Union. Upon learning of this affair, I communicated with prominent men of both parties in New York.

The letters inserted here fully explain the Georgia controversy with New York, and the surrender of the New York ships by Georgia.

"New York, March 15th, 1861.

"Col. Richard Lathers, Savannah.

"*Dear Sir:*— . . . I made an extract of your letter relative to the seized arms and vessels and sent it to Messrs. Grinnel, Babcock and Hunt; they will do what they can. Kennedy, the policeman who seized the arms, is out of town; to return to-morrow; Mr. Babcock will see him. He is represented as one of those stubborn fellows, who, having done a wrong, proposes to take the consequences rather than retract. I am told that his own counsel told him, that his seizure is illegal, and so says every lawyer and every merchant. But I learn also that with Kennedy, it is a personal matter, that he was offended with Mr. Lamar, who he says accused him of mal-practice, and that he intends to try the case; has given security for damages, etc., and if mulcted, as a matter of course, the city will be asked to pay the damages. . . . It appears to me that it would be becoming to the dignity of the State of Georgia to let the thing

take its legal course. If the Court of this State does not render justice, Georgia has a legal remedy in the United States Court against the State of New York. The whole thing is a legal controversy, not a national one. . . . Now, therefore, will not Governor Brown take this view of it and upon this information clear his skirts and the honor of the State from any connection with the transaction by releasing the vessels at once? That is my advice; such a course would more effectually place the wrong all on this side and the advantage all on that.

"Secession or no secession, temporary or permanent, the final adjustment of difficulties depends upon public men and public bodies refraining from speeches and action foreign to the real difficulties and of an irritating character. The newspapers and their correspondents are at present greater disturbers of the peace than the real difficulties which have contributed to disunion.

"Respectfully &c.,

"JOHN A. PARKER."

"NEW YORK, March 16th, 1861.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS, Savannah,

"*Dear Sir*:—Mr. Babcock and some of the members of the Republican committee who went to Washington with Mr. Lathrop, are at work with Kerrigan, who is Kennedy's security in the case of the seized arms, to get their release, and Mr. Lathrop thinks they will succeed. I hope they will, but I would much prefer that the Governor would take the view in my letter of last evening, to regard it as a contest with a dirty policeman, against whose acts it did not become the dignity of the State to retaliate on innocent citizens. Such a course would gain great credit here for the Governor and his State, and the principles involved appear to be of so little national importance, that there is every reason in favor of his doing so. The whole thing depends here on nothing else but the bad temper of a mischief-making individual. . . .

"Respectfully,

"JOHN A. PARKER."

"New York, March 18th, 1861.

"Col. Richard Lathers, Savannah, Georgia.

"*Dear Sir:*—I have this morning telegraphed you, 'The detained goods are shipped by Cromwell's Line, please communicate to G. B.' I took it for granted that you would understand that 'Detained goods' meant muskets, and that 'G. B.' was legitimate for Governor Brown. The muskets were released Saturday night and immediately shipped via Baltimore to avoid their being followed by any other hound of the police, who might think there was a chance of gain or pelf in them. You know we have many such men amongst us. It was for the same reason that my telegram was written enigmatically that nothing could properly transpire out of doors until they were fairly gone. The release was obtained by bringing a strong pressure to bear on Kennedy's security, Kerrigan. Mr. Grinnel, Mr. Babcock, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Low, Mr. Lathrop, all interested themselves with Mr. Ward, the owner of one of the seized vessels, to whose care they were at once confided and who immediately took them in charge and shipped them. . . . "Very truly yours etc.,

"John A. Parker."

"Savannah, March 19, 1861.

"To Messrs. Samuel D. Babcock, and John A. Parker,

"New York:

"Your telegrams of yesterday are received. The New York ships have been released, by order of the authorities here in consideration of the surrender of the arms by the New York Metropolitan Police.

"H. Brigham,

"Richard Lathers."

"If Kennedy had not given up the arms, the ships would have been sold at public auction at Savannah, on Monday next. We subjoin Gov. Brown's instructions to his aide-de-camp to that effect.

"'EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

"'MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., March 2, 1861.

"'COL. HENRY R. JACKSON, Aide-de-camp, Savannah, Ga.:

"'*Sir:*—Unless the property of which citizens of Georgia have been robbed by the police of the city of New York, who act under the authority of the Governor of that State, is in the meantime delivered to the owners, by virtue of the power vested in me as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of this State, I direct that you advertise immediately, and expose to sale on Monday, the 25th day of this month, between the usual hours of sale, at place of sheriff's sales, in the City of Savannah, the following New York vessels, with their tackle, furniture, and apparel, now held under military seizure, by order, as reprisals, to wit: Ship Mary J. Ward, and schooner Julia A. Hallock. These vessels are to be sold for cash, for the purpose of indemnifying citizens of Georgia for the losses which they have sustained on account of the robberies perpetrated by the New York authorities, and of paying all expenses incurred in the premises.

"'JOSEPH E. BROWN,

"'Governor of Georgia.'"

While I was in Savannah Governor Brown narrated to me pleasantly the manner in which he had captured the Arsenal—as his first military experience. He said that with a platoon of militiamen, commanded by a lieutenant, he paid a courteous visit to the commander of the garrison and the six or seven United States soldiers who were placed as a guard over the property. When he had made known the object of his visit, the officer in command replied that he could only surrender the post to an overwhelming force, and that such was not before him. The Governor retired and returned to the Fort with two companies. Again the officer in command, after looking over the Governor's force, declared that the numbers were not sufficient to justify him in delivering up the property. The Governor told him good-naturedly that he was not willing to

have his militiamen thus undervalued, and took possession of the Arsenal.

Mrs. Lathers and I were invited by the Governor to go down the river with him on an excursion to witness the raising of the Confederate flag on Fort Pickens, which had just been evacuated by the United States garrison. The day was fine, and the banquet, at which there was an abundance of champagne, developed much hilarity. On the return trip the band struck up "Dixie," and forthwith a line was formed, each person holding the coat tail of the person preceding him, to march round the deck of the steamer singing and keeping step to the music. The Governor, a rigid temperance man of the Baptist persuasion, was compelled by his gay companions to head the line. This was kept up for over an hour with only occasional rests devoted to drinking the health of the Governor and the success of Dixie. There was no evidence of drunkenness; but the scene was extremely funny, the more that most of the party were officials or leading citizens.

Years after the war, when visiting the Senate Chamber at Washington, I perceived among the most dignified-looking white-haired members of that body "old Joe Brown," no longer the fiery leader of Dixie, but a supporter of the Union which experience had taught him to revere.

Savannah, at this period, rather exceeded its reputation for genial and sumptuous dinners. At a dinner given by Mr. Molyneux, at which General Lawton, Mr. Padelford (a Massachusetts merchant), Senator Robert Toombs, General Bartow, Postmaster Solomon Cohen, Robert Gourdin and General Gordon were present, the conversation turned on the Confederate tariff, which many held to be out of harmony with free trade and unwise and impolitic as a Southern measure. Robert Toombs said he only felt the loss of the old government because it had afforded free trade among the States, and that he now had to pay a heavy duty on Paccalan's celebrated New York boots, which pinched him confoundedly. Our host then said, "Gentlemen, the time will soon come, I fear, when this will be brought home to you in a thousand ways. The very roast beef you seem to enjoy to-day, comes in on a high tariff.

When we break up all connection with the North, we must be prepared to be less hospitable."

On my first Sunday in Savannah I heard for the first time the prayer for the President of the Confederate States. Bishop Elliott preached an ingenious vindication of the change from the standpoint of the church ritual, taking for his text, "The powers that be are ordained of God." The clear duty of the Church, he said, was to conform to the existing government—to preach the gospel (and not partisan or sectional politics) under the authority of Him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world." In a talk with the Bishop after the service I said, "Bishop, I had expected from your text to hear an exposition of your views on the unfortunate national tendency to civil war." He replied in his usual urbane but decisive manner, "I never deal with politics in the pulpit, however much I may be interested in its controversies. The church provides a higher theme for the edification of its worshipers in the gospel of Christ. It was proper to-day that I should explain and justify to the congregation, the departure from our ritual in the Prayer for Rulers since it had become my duty to conform to the new Government under which the Church now exists."

From Savannah I sent the following letter to the New York *Express*:

"SAVANNAH, March 13th, 1861.

"Since my arrival here I have had several interesting interviews with the Governor and other leading men, and also with merchants of judgment, social position and Union proclivities, many of them New England men or their descendants.

"I have also mingled freely with the populace of the city, with members of the State Convention, and with others from the rural districts of less social and political influence; yet I have found but one avowed friend of reconstruction of the Union on the old basis. Still the tone here is not nearly as enthusiastic, nor is the military spirit nearly as evident as in South Carolina. The right of secession is not so strenuously insisted on here as a matter of political orthodoxy, secession being justified on the basis of incompatibility of sentiment.

"Colonel Hunter, one of the oldest and most respected merchants here (the father-in-law of the late Senator Berrien), informs me that at the last interview he had with his old friend, Daniel Webster, that great statesman, with almost prophetic wisdom, informed him that the days of the Union were numbered, because slavery was so repugnant to the North as to provide political capital for every ambitious tyro there.

"The new Confederacy is becoming a fixed fact in all the relations of every-day life. The new flag streams over the public buildings, and even over the hotel I am writing in. Montgomery is freely spoken of as 'the capital'; Jefferson Davis as 'the President.' Yesterday I dined with the British Consul, and met among other leading men, the Collector of the Port, who spoke of the revenue law, and of his correspondence with the Secretary as to the proper construction of certain clauses. Indeed, one is astonished to see how readily the changed régime is conformed to. And yet Northern papers, and even the President's message, entirely ignore the whole thing. The new Constitution seems to give universal satisfaction, and will be immediately adopted, without amendment. Its provisions are highly conservative, and show that the revolution is in the hands of substantial and earnest men, devoted to the real interests of their respective localities, and not in the hands of corrupt office-seekers.

"The State Convention, now in session here, is composed principally of middle-aged men. Many of them are old-line Whigs—devoted followers of Henry Clay, and ardent supporters of the Union—and had the last Congress shown the least intention of doing justice to the South, under Mr. Crittenden's or any other project of equality in the Territories, Georgia could have been saved and the Union kept intact by their influence and votes; for the number and influence of the secessionists *per se* were small and unimportant. But Union men looked in vain to the Legislature of New York and the Congress at Washington; they lost all hope, and finally yielded—many of them, under their disappointment, becoming more ardent than the Secession leaders.

"In Augusta I found a large class of outspoken Union men. My friends of both parties there gave me a dinner, during which the secession issue was fully canvassed with the most perfect good humor and I was good-naturedly taxed with forgetting my allegiance to the South and disappointing my friends because, as they put it, I had married a Northern wife."

From Montgomery, Alabama, I wrote to the New York *Journal of Commerce* as follows:

"EXCHANGE HOTEL.

"MONTGOMERY, ALA., March 27, 1861.

"I have visited all the principal cities of Georgia—Savannah, Augusta, Columbus and Macon. The usual hospitality continues to be extended to strangers, even of the North, unless they allow their sympathies for the slave, and their offensive puritanical sentiments to overcome that sense of propriety which should always mark intercourse between gentlemen. Union sentiment prevailed in the interior cities of Georgia, till after the vote of the Convention was cast in favor of secession.

"The Union, or Co-operation party, as they called themselves, had perhaps a small majority, when the Convention met. The secession party prevailed, because of the attitude of the National Government towards South Carolina and because of the Republican press, which derided the secession movement as a mere party trick to deprive Republicans of the fruits of their victory. Republican papers in many cases said that the Southern States could not be kicked out of the Union, and that if they should dare to go out, the North would whip them back. It is an instructive fact in this connection, that volunteers for the army and contributions for the State of Georgia, are quite as largely furnished by the conservative men who voted against secession, as by the most ardent secessionists. And now there does not seem to be the least difference of opinion as to the future.

"I find the sentiment in Alabama, as expressed in this city, in perfect accord with that of Georgia and Carolina. The public is now devoted entirely to perfecting the new Government, and preparing the defense, yet hoping for peace. An old and efficient Union statesman said to me yesterday that he had exhausted his influence without effect in favor of co-operation. But now that the new Government was established on so firm a basis of equality and conservatism, and that Puritan influence so persistently controlled the Northern sentiment with regard to Southern equality and rights of property, he, in common with all his party, would oppose any attempt to re-construct the old Union. He saw no hope, he added, of a reunion of destinies except by the conservative States of the North (barring the New England States), joining the Confederate States. With New England, Southerners desire to have nothing more to do politically. It is very singular that men of New England origin who have nobly fought for the Union in the late struggle here are, if possible, even more emphatic against New England.

"It will be grateful to you to hear that the city of New York is always spoken of with a degree of affection in this connection. Our old State, with all its Republican sins and its corrupt legislation, is regarded with respect, in consideration of our uniform defense of constitutional rights when the old Democracy was pure. Those patriotic Republicans of our city, whose efforts are directed to prevent bloodshed and civil war, and, who, rising above party trammels, propose to restore peace and a return of commercial relations with our brethren of the South, are doing more towards an ultimate reunion than all the armies which could be raised to coerce a people determined to maintain themselves at all hazard.

"I love the Union, even the part which will be left, if it is doomed to rupture; and given a peaceable settlement with the new Confederacy, I hope that a common origin, language and destiny will yet re-unite a people whose greatness would be destroyed by fraternal strife."

CHAPTER VI

THE MONTGOMERY ADDRESS

In Montgomery, which was the seat of the newly organized Confederate Government, I was introduced personally to Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, by my friend Mr. Memminger, who had just been appointed Secretary of the Confederate Treasury. When I had presented numerous letters of introduction from distinguished mutual friends in Washington, Charleston, and Savannah, the President inquired after many of his Northern friends and especially after those who had signed the "Address" of the Pine Street meeting and those who were members of the Peace Congress assembled at Washington. He then expressed his readiness for the official interview. After reading the "Appeal to the South" of the Pine Street meeting, which was well received by Mr. Davis and handsomely applauded by the audience, I delivered the following address:

"Mr. President:—The fraternal appeal which I have had the honor of reading to you, so fully expresses the sympathy of several hundred of your fellow citizens in the State and in the city of New York as to leave for me only a friendly remonstrance, from a Southerner's standpoint, against the theory and the practice of secession. My advocacy of Southern rights in the political struggles at the North for over a quarter of a century, my intimate relations with Southern enterprises and my personal interests in South Carolina, as a property owner, combine to arouse in me a deep concern regarding everything that tends either to unsettle the right of property in slaves or to jeopardize the peace, possessions and industry of the South.

"It is with profound regret, Mr. President, that I find myself compelled to differ with you and with my distinguished friend at my side, the Honorable Mr. Memminger, your able Secretary of the Confederate Treasury, with regard to the scope, the significance, and the stability of the Union of the States.

"It is well known that the 'Articles of Confederation' (the original compact between the States) was so defective that some of the States refused to contribute their quota to the national revenue and a Convention of the States to confer upon it greater power became necessary. This Convention, finding it quite impracticable to so amend the Articles of Confederation as to make them a proper basis for a national government, devised the present national Constitution. This document, which is a miracle of wisdom and unsurpassed by any organic law in the world, is a compromise by which, through powers conceded by all the States acting in unison, the central government possesses national sovereignty, while, under the rights which all the States acting in unison, reserved to themselves, local self-government is assured. Thus is realized a 'perpetual union of indestructible States,'—a distribution and limitation of power as unique as it is just and practical. The legislation of each State is absolute, except when it conflicts with the powers conceded to the central government; and the final interpretation of both the State laws and the acts of the central government rests with a high judicial tribunal, the Supreme Court of the Union,—an umpire whose capacity and integrity have never been impugned. The definition in the Constitution of the functions of the Supreme Court is comprehensive and explicit, and seems to have anticipated every exigency likely to arise. Let me quote a sentence which pertains to the present controversy: 'The jurisdiction of the national judiciary shall extend to the cases which regulate the collection of the national revenue, and questions which involve the national peace and safety.' By virtue of this sentence, the Supreme Court became a bar, sixty years ago, to Nullification when that heresy menaced the collection of our na-

tional revenue; and, by virtue of this same sentence, it stands ready to-day to offer a potent and peaceful remedy for sectional estrangement and secession.

"It is difficult, Mr. President, with consistency, to follow closely the lead of the sectional doctrinaires of any age or party. Probably there are now no Hartford secessionists in New England, threatening, as did the secessionists of 1815, to overthrow the power of our Government. Should the present unfortunate sectional controversy culminate in civil war, the sons of these very New England secessionists will be the first, perhaps, to enlist to suppress a secession movement in the South.

"The tariff of 1816, the first to embody the doctrine of protection, was introduced into Congress, carried through and established, under the lead of South Carolina. Among its most earnest supporters, if not projectors, was John C. Calhoun, while its chief opponents were New England men led by Daniel Webster. These great doctrinaires of their respective sections, subsequently changed sides on the tariff to meet the changed conditions and pursuits of their respective communities, Calhoun becoming an advocate of free trade and Webster of protection. Indeed, admonished by these changes of sectional feeling and policy, I believe the time may come when the present Confederates of the South will be battling for the Union against the folly of Northern secession.

"State Rights is practically the true and effective reserved power which was guaranteed by the people in convention to each State for protection against centralization, and is an essential element of a federative national union. State Rights is a power in the Union, but has no title or guarantee, either at home or abroad, out of the Union. Fealty to the national government and to its conceded rights under the Constitution, is fealty to State Rights. Every citizen, therefore, who swears to support the Constitution of the United States, swears also to support State Rights under it. The disregard of these mutual obligations by sectional Abolitionism at the North or by sectional Secessionism at the South are equally open to the charge of disloyalty to the federal or State government

and if manifested in overt acts are equally subject to punishment.

"The terms 'State sovereignty,' and 'secession' do not appear as titles in the original Articles of Confederation or the subsequent Constitution. The use of the popular term 'sovereign States' conferred no power on the States beyond the rights which were guaranteed by the compact in and not out of the Union; not unlike, perhaps, certain powers which they had enjoyed under their colonial charters, from the sovereign of Great Britain. It is true that some of the States declined, for periods more or less brief, to accept the new Constitution; but this was merely a struggle for certain modifications which were not conceded, and not a claim for sovereignty or for the relaxation of the 'perpetual union' clause. In no case has any State (save Texas, for a short period, between its separation from Mexico and its union with the United States), ever exercised or claimed to exercise any sovereignty, save that local self-government which was reserved to it by the Constitution. Even if our Union had been a union of sovereign States, it is quite absurd to hold that any State would have surrendered its sovereignty for the uncertain tenure of a mere protective Union, for a voluntary compact which might be severed at the pleasure of any one or more of the contracting parties, who might form an alliance with some foreign country,—even with Great Britain.

"A great Southern orator and patriot, Patrick Henry of Virginia, who was not quite in accord with the Constitution while it was before Virginia for ratification, affirmed that it is demonstratively clear that the Constitution creates a consolidated government. 'The language,' he said, 'is, we, the *people* instead of we, the *States*. It must, therefore, be one great consolidated government of the people of all the States.'

"Let me in this connection, Mr. President, quote the opinion of a celebrated Southerner, Charles Coatesworth Pinckney, of my own Palmetto State, a prominent soldier and statesman of the Revolution, and the trusted friend of Washington. He writes: 'Separate independence and individual sovereignty

of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed the Declaration of Independence. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part of it, as if it was intended to impress this maxim on America, that our freedom and independence arose from our Union, and that without it we could neither be free nor independent. Let us then consider all attempts to weaken this Union by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent as a species of political heresy, which may never benefit us and may bring on us the most serious distress.'

"I am aware that secession derives one of its chief arguments for disunion, from language used in the ratification of the Federal Constitution, by the State of Virginia, as follows: 'That the power granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression.' This language refers clearly and expressly to the people of the United States, and not to the people of Virginia. The present Constitution which was designed to form, (using its own language), 'a perpetual Union' emphasized further the element of permanence by declaring its object to be, 'To form a more perfect union and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity forever.' But even if the language of Virginia be conceded to mean what the Secessionists make it mean (a concession belied by all our judicial decisions), even then secession cannot be justified, because it has not been shown, and cannot be shown, that the Government of the United States has been perverted to the injury or oppression of the seceding States, or any citizen thereof.

"In this connection let me quote the highest judicial authority in our country. Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States, a native Virginian, in adjudicating a Southern question which involved the constitutionality of secession, said: 'The people made the Constitution and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their will. But this supreme and irresistible power to make or unmake,

resides in the whole body of the people, and not in any subdivision of them. The attempt of any of the parts to exercise this usurpation, ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated their power of repelling it.' And another great Southerner, Howell Cobb of Georgia, a distinguished Senator and Cabinet Officer, when asked ten years ago to concede the right of a State to secede from the Union, with or without cause, at its pleasure, asserted that 'the framers of the Constitution did that which was never done before by any other people possessed of their good sense and intelligence' if they provided 'in the very organization of the government for its dissolution. . . . I have no hesitancy in declaring,' he said, 'that the convictions of my own judgment are well settled, that no such principle was contemplated in the adoption of our Constitution.'

"A great deal has been inferred from the Resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia in 1798. It is well known that they were only advanced for party purposes, and were, like the secession resolutions of the Hartford Convention, resolutions of menace to the Union which fulfilled their party purpose and largely influenced the election, but were disregarded by the great body of the people of all parties.

"The answer to the exaggerated claims made for these manifestos is at hand. Mr. Jefferson, said to be one of the promoters of the agitation which resulted in the Virginia Resolutions, was subsequently elected President of the United States; and his administration is noted for its vigorous maintenance of federal powers. Mr. Madison, who, it is said, drafted the Resolutions, not only refused to admit that the secession powers claimed for State sovereignty were lawful, but declared that the remedy pointed at by his Resolutions, was intended as an appeal for a Convention of the States against unconstitutional laws, and nothing more.

"Mr. Ritchie, the celebrated State Rights editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, who really gave law half a century ago to the State Rights Democracy of Virginia, if not of the Union, expressed his view of this question in 1814 against the seces-

sion doctrines of the Hartford Convention, as follows: 'No association of men, no State or set of States, has a right to withdraw from the Union of their own accord. The same power that knit us together, can alone unknit. The same formality that forged the links of the Union is necessary to dissolve it. The majority of the States which formed the Union must consent to their withdrawal. There is no power in any one of the States to substitute secession as the medium of redress for actual or fancied grievances, in place of the legal and moral remedies supplied by the organic law of the country. The enlightened founders of this Great Republic had no idea, and their legislative action has given no color, implied or direct, that a perpetual Union, which they thought and claimed to originate should be menaced by the dis-union doctrine of secession.'

"Mr. Jefferson, in the Virginia Convention of 1788 said, 'In the event of serious differences between the Federal Government and a State or States which can be neither avoided nor compromised, a Convention of all the States must be called to ascribe the doubtful powers to that department which they may think best.'

"Calhoun opposed the doctrine of secession because, to use his own terse words, 'It led to dis-union and afforded no peaceful remedy against unconstitutional laws.' His remedy for violations of the constitutional rights of the South, was an appeal, should the Supreme Court fail to give satisfaction, to a Convention of the people of the States; the effectual and only practical tribunal recognized by the Constitution as paramount in such a controversy. It is true that an attempt has been made to show that his Nullification doctrine logically justified secession; but, Mr. President, you will recall the words of Edmund Burke to his parliamentary constituents: 'No one has a right,' said Burke, 'to charge me with holding opinions, on the ground of logic, which I have specially disclaimed.'

"Indeed, the term Nullification was never used by Mr. Calhoun. It was a term adopted by Mr. Jefferson. In a

letter written by Mr. Calhoun to a friend on this subject, he remarks, 'Nullification is not my word. I never use it. I always say State interposition. My purpose is a suspensive veto to compel the installing of the highest tribunal provided by the Constitution, to decide on the point in dispute. I do not wish to destroy the Union. I only wish to make it honest. The Union is too strong to break. . . . . If a convention of the States were called and it should decide that the protective policy is constitutional, what then? Then give it up.'

"Surely nothing can be clearer than Mr. Calhoun's express objections to Secession on every occasion when the doctrine came before him. In his celebrated letter of advice to the Legislature of South Carolina, warning the State against Secession, he says, that the reserved rights of the State were not conferred to enable it to resume delegated powers at will, but to prevent the reserved powers of the State from being assumed by the National Government. He further advises, in case of an infringement of State rights: 'The States ought to be convened in a general convention, the most august assembly representing the united sovereignty of the confederate States and having power and authority to correct every error and to repair every depredation or injury, whether caused by time or accident or the conflicting movements of the bodies which compose the system. With institutions every way so fortunately possessed, so well calculated to prevent discord and so admirably to correct them when they cannot be prevented, he, who would prescribe for political diseases, disunion on the one side or coercion of a State on the other, would deserve, and will receive, the execration of this and all future generations. There is provided a power over the Constitution itself vested in three-fourths of the States, which Congress has the authority to invoke, and which may terminate all controversies in reference to all subjects—granting or withholding the right in the contest. Its authority is acknowledged by all, and to deny or resist it would be, on the part of the State, a violation of the Constitutional compact and a dissolution of a political association, as far as it is concerned. This is the ultimate

and highest power, and the basis on which the whole system rests.'

"These, Mr. President, are the sentiments of the wisest and most patriotic State Rights statesman which the South or any section of the country has produced. I recall them to your memory and I commend them to you and to all thoughtful statesmen who are now called on to determine the destinies of the South.

"No constitutional government but our own has been so thoroughly furnished with ample remedial measures against legislative encroachments on personal rights or on State rights. The citizen, as well as the State, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, has ample means of redress; and, as a still farther protection to the reserved rights and institutions of the State, when the redress has not or cannot be obtained in the Federal Supreme Court, an appeal is open, as Mr. Calhoun remarks, to a Convention of the people of all the States—the supreme authority in the Union because the very Creator of the Union. This offers the highest court of arbitration for the revision of any fancied or real encroachments on State Rights.

"Now, Sir, it is beyond dispute that both of these peaceful remedies (appeal to the Supreme Court or to a Convention of the people of the States), would be overwhelmingly favorable to Southern rights in any case that might be brought up. The Dred Scott Decree, recently rendered by the Supreme Court in favor of the rights of the slaveholder, in the face of the most energetic effort to the contrary, is fully seconded by every expression of the majority of the States, North as well as South; and this is equally true of every question of Southern rights that is raised. Only recently, as you well know, John Brown was convicted and hanged for criminally invading your territory.

"In view of the protection afforded by the Union to the South, and of the advantages which the Union has conferred on the South, I am constrained to ask in the language of Mr. Calhoun: 'Are you ready to destroy the existing national

relations, which would be to destroy the property of the Southern States, and to place two races in a state of conflict, which must end in the expulsion or extermination of one or the other?'

"Mr. President, I am a pro-slavery man. I accept the inherited institution of slavery as I do the other conditions with which God in His providence has surrounded me. I can see its defects and regret them as fully as any emancipationist. Every substance casts a shadow. But I can also see what the sectional agitators of the North seem not to see, that the slavery of the African race, as inherited by the South, has produced a social refinement and a personal manhood and integrity which are everywhere in evidence—in public and official as well as in private life. Whatever may come out of this reckless attempt to rupture the Union by civil war, slavery is doomed; and with it the peculiar refinement which has grown up and flourished under it, just as the refinement of Athens passed away when Athens came into armed conflict with the greater power of Rome.

"Sir, there is in New York, Pennsylvania and the border States, a band of cool, patriotic men, who stand openly and firmly pledged to maintain the Constitutional rights and institutions of the South as well as the sovereignty and perpetuity of the government of this Union. To this band belong the signers of the 'Appeal to the South' (just read to you), who represent vastly greater numbers and power than the actual secession advocates of the whole South. Furthermore, such men are to be found in all the Northern States, not even excepting those of New England. Shall these noble-hearted men of both parties, who are loyal (in spite of their prejudice against slavery) to the pledges of the Constitution and stand ready to repair the wrongs inflicted or to be inflicted by the fanatical minority in their midst, be made your enemies by an untimely, unjustifiable and ungrateful attempt at dis-union? Pardon my plainness, Mr. President, but this is a time for candor among Southern men. Those of us who have material interests and affections at stake cannot contemplate unmoved

the possibility of an unequal contest which will imperil the lives, the peace and the prosperity of the South.

"The South, in my judgment, because of its peculiar institution, slavery, is more vitally concerned in the perpetuity of the Union than any other section of the country. We of the South must not disguise from ourselves the fact that slavery in this age, with or without reason, has no support in the civilized world, except that accorded it here by the Constitution of the United States. Slavery is only maintained by the power and the good faith of the very government which Secession proposes to rupture on the feeble and baseless pretext of an anticipated hostility.

"In proof of the present good faith of the government towards the slaveholder, let me quote a paragraph from President Lincoln's Inaugural, an utterance which ought to quiet the fears of the most nervous slaveholder, and give confidence to every Union heart, coming as it does not only from a triumphant party leader, but also, from one who is a respecter of the Constitution and the rights of the States under it. 'I have no purpose,' says the President, 'directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance and as a law to themselves and me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read.

"'"*Resolved,* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends. And we denounce the lawless invasion by an armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter on what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

"'I add, too, that all the protection that, consistently with the Constitution and laws, can be given, will be cheerfully

given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.'

"Now, Mr. President, can you devise a more explicit guarantee of Southern rights than this declaration of the Republican President thus pledged by his oath of office to the nation and the party which elected him; especially since the Congress which shares the power with him has a decided Democratic majority to protect Southern interests in both houses?

"By way of further proof that slavery is not endangered by the agitation of the Abolitionists of the North, I will call your attention to the speech of Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, delivered on October 24th, 1858. After telling his audience how the anti-slavery sentiment had been encouraged up to 1833 by the emancipation of their slaves by Washington and Jefferson, and by the strenuous efforts of such prominent Southern statesmen as Crawford, Clay and Marshall in behalf of the colonization of the negroes in Liberia (incidents which compelled the slave-holders to investigate the moral basis of the institution for the existence of which they had hitherto apologized as a heritage from England), Senator Hammond remarks: 'But a few bold spirits took the subject up and, after a thorough investigation, found good reasons for its defense; and it would be difficult now to find a Southern man who finds the system to be the slightest burden on his conscience, who in fact does not regard it an equal advantage to the master and the slave, elevating both as to wealth, strength and power, and as one of the main pillars and controlling influences of modern civilization, and who is not now prepared to maintain it at every hazard. Such has been the happy result of Abolition discussion. So far our gain in value and security from the contest has been immense, savage and malignant as it has been. And how stands it now? Why, in this quarter of a century our slaves have doubled in numbers and each slave has doubled in value.'

"It is highly interesting to mark the change in the course of public sentiment on this subject of slavery. In April, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, as chairman of a committee, reported to

Congress a bill for the temporary government of our Western Territory, in which appeared the following clause: 'That after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States [new States to be formed] otherwise than in punishment for crime.' One would suppose, Mr. President, that the South would have been indignant at a proposition so utterly opposed to the interests of slave-holders. The truth is that the territory was left open to slavery by the unanimous vote of the Northern members, while the members from Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia voted in the negative. Indeed, there was at that time little interest in the South in the perpetuation of slavery. Not until the admission of Missouri as a State were sectional lines drawn, and then the tariff issue had more to do with the drawing of the lines than slavery did.

"The distinguished Georgia statesman, Mr. Stephens, now Vice President of the Confederacy, in his admirable address to his constituents on retiring from public life in Georgia, July 1859, said:—'I am not of the number of those who believe that we have received any injury by slavery agitation. It is true we were not responsible for it. We were not the aggressors. We acted on the defensive. We repelled assault, calumny and aspersion by argument, by reason and by truth. But so far from the institution of African slavery in our section being weakened or rendered less secure by discussion, my deliberate judgment is, that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified, not only in the opinions, convictions and consciences of men, but by the action of the government of the United States.'

"In his eloquent and patriotic reply to Senator Toombs, November last, before the Legislature of Georgia, Mr. Stephens said further, 'The first question which presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you frankly, candidly and earnestly, that I do not think they ought. In my judgment, the election of no man constitutionally chosen for that high office,

is sufficient for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid in supporting the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the government, to withdraw from it because a man is constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the government, without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves? Withdrawing ourselves from it, would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements; let the fault and the wrong rest upon others! If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found till the last moment standing on the deck with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads! Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, if such is their fell purpose! Let the responsibility rest on them!'

"The election of Mr. Lincoln by a larger majority than that of his predecessor, Mr. Buchanan, while giving him a popular as well as a legal right to the office, is simply the triumph of the Republican Party, as the election of Mr. Buchanan four years ago was a triumph of the Democratic Party; and affords no justification for secession on the ground that it is a menace to the institution of slavery. The fact is, that the majority which elected Mr. Lincoln was chiefly made up of voters favoring a tariff for the protection of Northern manufacturers, but opposed to even the agitation of Abolition—as the platform of their party and the acceptance of their candidate proves, and as Mr. Lincoln avers in his inaugural. Indeed, a careful investigation shows that the aggregate vote of the whole North did not contain ten per cent. of emancipationists. Southern institutions are rather strengthened than impaired by this election of a Northern candidate pledged by his oath of office as well as by his party platform to respect the reserved rights of

the South. The States of the South are in full enjoyment to-day of all the rights of the Northern States and of certain special rights besides which the Northern States do not enjoy.

"In short, it is difficult to perceive what arguments can be adduced to justify a rupture of this Union in behalf of slavery; for, while certain factions in the Eastern States have been unfriendly to slavery, these factions have been a small minority of the Northern voters, and, being conscious of their numerical weakness, have made no attempt to put anti-slavery planks into any of their national party platforms.

"Furthermore, there is no allegation on the part of the Secession leaders, and cannot be that the Federal Government, in any manner or at any time, has displayed any opposition to the South and its rights.

"For over sixty years the South has practically governed and well governed this country. The Presidency, the Senate, the Judiciary, the Army, the Navy and the Diplomatic Corps have been practically dominated by Southern influence. The Presidency has been filled—with one or two exceptions—by Southern men or men having the confidence of the South, and the legislative and judicial powers have been for the most part well disposed to the South. The legislation of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court have been notably favorable to Southern interests. Even when the South asked for more territory with which to extend and protect slavery, Congress annexed, despite sectional opposition, Louisiana, Florida and Texas. Furthermore, I cannot recall a single act of Congress promoting Southern interests during this long period that has not been largely supported by Northern representatives.

"If the South had been true to itself, we should have a pronounced Southern representative in the White House to-day; for you will excuse the personality, Mr. President, when I recall the fact that a leading New England Democrat, Benjamin F. Butler, and his friends, as members of the Charleston Convention, cast over twenty ballots for your own candidacy for that high office.

"It is to the breaking up of that Convention in Charleston, that we may attribute the defeat of the Democratic Party and the election of Mr. Lincoln. The same Secession leaders from Alabama, who openly threatened Secession in the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1856, unless they should be permitted to engraft their peculiar views on the Party declarations, finding themselves unable in 1860 to dictate a policy which the Party could not sustain in the North and West, (because Congress had no power to legislate the institution of slavery in or out of the Territories) withdrew from the Convention. They created thereby a situation which not only forced the dissolution of that body, but caused the disintegration and defeat of the Party; thus sacrificing with yourself another distinguished Southern statesman, John C. Breckinridge, for whose election to the Presidency I did my utmost, being, indeed, a member of the New York State Convention which so heartily responded to his nomination.

"The great body of the leading men at the North, while opposed to slavery abstractly, are in deep sympathy with all that concerns the prosperity of their Southern brethren and their constitutional rights. Of this attitude the fraternal 'Address' just read, is a striking expression. The Pine Street Meeting was not a mere popular gathering; it was a meeting of distinguished public men of both parties who came together to make one last effort to avoid civil war, by giving pledges to their Southern brethren of sympathy and support in the Union, and of the maintenance of their absolute rights under the Constitution. I could show you, Sir, hundreds of similar pledges in letters from prominent men of both parties in New England. It may appear to you, as you have intimated, that this action was prompted by business motives rather than by love of the South. In a measure, Mr. President, this may be true, since all patriotism and all friendships are based on personal interests more or less; but this is no reason for discrediting these sentiments.

"Your friends of the North regard secession as forcing slavery into the very danger which it assumes to avert. It pro-

poses to stake the actual substance against the possible shadow. It is preposterous to claim that slavery is in any present danger. I have, I think, proved (by the highest Southern authority, for I have abstained from quoting Northern authority), that legislation adverse to slavery is now quite impossible. The market value of slaves is the true barometer of public opinion as to the security of slave property. At a late sale of negroes, which I witnessed in Charleston, I noted that not only were the highest former market prices fully maintained in the face of this outcry of danger, but that prices had really advanced as compared with the average of twenty years; and my friend here, Mr. Memminger, will confirm this. This is the best possible practical evidence of the public confidence in the tenure of slavery.

"There is a school of honest but mistaken statesmen who do not attempt to justify secession as a legal remedy, because they can adduce no wrong on the part of the Government. They love to quote from the Declaration of Independence the paragraph as to the right of a people to institute a new government at the pleasure of the governed. But they overlook the important conservative clause which declares 'That a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that we should declare the causes which compel us to separate,' and this affirmation is accompanied by a list of twenty-seven political abuses of the most despotic character. These, the Declaration of Independence offered in justification of their proposed secession from Great Britain, in emphatic recognition of their moral duty to the nations and peoples of the earth.

"And just here, Mr. President, I would, with all due respect, and in the language of the Vice President of the Confederacy, ask 'What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify secession? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in this case. What overt act can you name or point to on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim founded on justice and right has been withheld?' Can any of you to-day

name one Government act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. I am not here as the advocate of the North, but I am here—like the great Georgian I have quoted—the friend and the firm friend of the South, its institutions, its peace and its prosperity.

" No people is strong enough to disregard the opinion of the civilized world. There is a moral sentiment which, sooner or later, will always develop into sympathy or aversion and which it is unwise to ignore and dangerous to set at defiance in revolutionary contests. There seems to be, Mr. President, a growing confidence at the South in the practical value at this time of English sympathy, as evidenced by the somewhat blatant endorsements of secession and declarations of love for Southern institutions, by many English consuls in our Southern ports, who, with their friends at home, were ever ready, formerly, to condemn in no measured terms the institution of slavery as a blot on our civilization. Now jealousy of the progress of America may have excited in England a desire to promote civil war in this country; but it should be borne in mind that the English Government has been admonished by two contests that English sympathy with secession must be moral only.

" In the contest of the colonies for independence, the rights of a continent were at stake; a continent then ruled by a despotic administration three thousand miles away across the ocean, and by a government whose form was out of harmony with the feelings and interest of the colonies. The present menace of secession can surely find no moral justification in the doctrines of Jefferson as expressed in the famous Declaration of Independence which was so carefully guarded in language as to attract the sympathy of the world to its appeal for justice against monarchical tyranny. Has it never occurred to you, Mr. President, that each State and each individual of each State, has a valuable vested right in this Union? The dignity of citizenship in a great and powerful nation is too precious a thing to be relinquished readily. The idolized flag

of our country cannot be deprived of a single star of its galaxy, without the practical extermination of the race which fought at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Cowpens, New Orleans and Mexico. The inspiration of that flag was not without its influence upon your own gallant conduct while leading the troops of your country to victory as the hero of Buena Vista. That patriotic Southern anthem, the 'Star Spangled Banner,' which nerved your courage and that of the brave men with you is as potent to-day for the defense of the Union against domestic enemies as it was in 1812 when our Southern poet, Key, witnessed the triumph of the flag over our foreign invaders at Baltimore, and when Southern and Northern soldiers fought under its folds in Mexico.

"Mark my words, Mr. President, this will not be a war waged by the government against the States nor against State Rights, nor, as alleged, against slavery; but for the defense of the integrity of the Union, of its flag and of its government, against armed individuals organized for their destruction.

"Ex-President Tyler, commenting in March, 1855, on the Force Bill of President Jackson's administration, said:—'In difference of opinion that may and will spring up between the States, the last counselor should be the pride of power, and the last mediator should be force. Rome in her day of power claimed to be mistress of the world, and Alexander the Great wept that he had no more worlds to conquer; and yet neither the one nor the other looked down from their height of power upon possessions more extensive or more fertile than those which we enjoy. I mention these things, not in a spirit of vain boasting, but for a far different and more interesting purpose. It is to induce a still deeper impression of love and veneration for our political institutions, by exhibiting our country as it was and is and will be, if we are true to the great trust committed to our hands. I will give no audience to those dark prophets who profess to foretell a dissolution of the Union. I would bid them back to their gloomy cells to await until the day shall come, which I trust will

assuredly come, when this great Republic shall have reached the fullness of its glory. I will not adopt the belief that a people, so favored by heaven, will most wickedly and foolishly throw away a pearl richer than all their tribe. No, when I open the Book of the Sybils, there is unfolded to my sight in characters bright, resplendent and glorious, and depicting the American Confederacy in the distant future shining with increased splendor, the paragon of governments, the exemplar of the world. Leave me, for the remnant of my days, the belief that the government and institutions handed down to us by our fathers, are to be the rich legacy of our children and our children's children to the latest generation. Keep at a distance from me, that gaunt and horrible form which is engendered in folly and nurtured in faction, which slakes its thirst in the tears of broken hearts, and appeases its appetite in the blasted hopes of mankind.' This, Mr. President, is the eloquent rendering of the prophetic fears of an honored and trusted Southern statesman, which strikes a responsive chord to-day in the hearts of thousands of Southern, as well as Northern, patriots who confide in you and look to you in this extremity to save the country from the bloody ordeal of impending civil war.

" That grand old statesman, Henry Clay of Kentucky (the compeer of Calhoun and Webster) read a lecture to the United States Senate in 1832 on the proposed Nullification of South Carolina and its dangers which is emphatically of value as against Secession in 1861.

" He said:—' Entertaining these deliberate opinions, I would entreat the patriotic people of South Carolina to pause—solemnly pause and contemplate the frightful precipice which lies before them. To retreat may be painful and mortifying to their gallantry and pride, but it is a retreat into the Union—to safety and to those brethren with whom or with whose ancestors they or their ancestors have won on fields of glory imperishable renown.

" ' To advance is to run into incurable disgrace and destruction. . . . If there be any who want civil war, who want to

see the blood of any portion of our countrymen spilt, I am not one of them. I wish to see a war of no kind, but, above all, I do not desire to see a civil war. When war begins, whether civil or foreign, no human sight is competent to foresee when or how or where it is to terminate. But when a civil war shall be lighted up in the bosom of our land and armies are marching and commanders are winning their victories and fleets are in motion on our coasts, tell me—if you can—tell me—if any human being can—of its duration. God alone knows where such a war would end. In what a state will our institutions be left? In what a state our liberties? I want no war. Above all, no war at home. Sir, I repeat that I think South Carolina has been rash, intemperate and greatly in the wrong, but I do not want to disgrace her nor any other member of the Union. No, I do not desire to see the luster of one single star dimmed of the glorious confederacy which constitutes our political sun. Still less do I wish to see the Union blotted out and its light extinguished forever.'

"It appears to me, Mr. President, that, in case of an armed conflict, genuine statesmen like yourself will find it difficult in your cooler moments to reconcile some of the features of this situation. The South will not be confronted in the field by the Abolition fanatics of the North, who, with Wendell Philips at their head, openly profess a desire to divide the Union in behalf of emancipation, and who have labored for many years, by sowing discord and by the machinery of the 'Under Ground Railroad,' to fire the Southern heart against the Union. You have ranged yourself with your enemies, Mr. President. These Abolition fanatics will not meet you in battle. Talking is safer than fighting. Besides, secession furthers their dis-union plans and is, in their view, highly effectual for emancipation. On the contrary, your swords will be drawn against your best friends, the friends who for years, have disinterestedly and gallantly defended your institutions and your good name against your political and sectional adversaries, the friends who love the Union, the flag and the Constitution of their fathers and your fathers.

"There will be no compromise with Secession if war is forced upon the North. I know the people there thoroughly. The love of the Union is a deep sentiment with them, which will over-ride every other impulse and interest when their patriotism is aroused.

"Mr. President, you must not be deceived by the indignant and rather hasty threats made by our Northern Democrats, because of attempted infringements of Southern rights. The Democratic Mayor of New York, Mr. Wood, to whom you refer me, is my valued friend, and one of the foremost friends of the South. He is a man of great energy and intense loyalty to the Federal Constitution and the Union. The remark of Mayor Wood you quote as favoring the secession of the city of New York, is nothing but a partisan threat, like Horace Greeley's editorial headed, 'Tear down that flaunting rag.' Neither of these political leaders is prepared to act or countenance what his ill-considered and revolutionary words imply. The first armed demonstration against the integrity of the Union or the dignity of the flag will find these antagonistic partisans enrolled in the same patriotic ranks for the defense of both.

"I make no appeal to fear in talking to Southern men whom I know to be incapable of that feeling. Southern men are moved by the opposite impulse, and are too likely to be rash in the presence of danger. But I desire to appeal to their cooler judgment. It is, in my opinion, to be regretted that the able and distinguished statesmen enlisted in the secession movement give no consideration to the possible (and as I think the inevitable) consequences to Southern life and property of a revolt against a powerful Government which is backed by an almost fanatical love of the flag and of the Union.

"The American public will never consent to recognize without a bloody struggle, fearful to contemplate, a political organization which would overthrow the substantial government of a contented and prosperous people. It is a grave misfortune, that in this sectional and political controversy each

side undervalues the other. The Anglo-Saxon (for or against government) in Europe or America, North or South, has never been found wanting in arms. He may be, at times, rather indifferent to military glory, but in the long run he is a terrible adversary. The South, with its impulsiveness, its gallantry and military training and traditions will rush to the conflict early and eagerly. The North, more given to industry and peaceful enterprises, will enter the field slowly, and with less enthusiasm. But in time the North's fervent love of the Union and profound reverence for the flag will make heroes of the most stolid Yankees in New England.

"We may despise Puritanism in politics and in religion, but the Puritan is not to be undervalued as an antagonist in business or in warfare. Hume, the English historian, tells us that while 'it [Puritanism] is a sect whose principles appear so frivolous and whose habits so ridiculous, yet the English owe to it the whole freedom of their Constitution.'

"Mr. President, under modern Christian civilization, civil or foreign war is not encouraged as a mere occasion for the display of military gallantry or prowess. In this age, war against a lawfully constituted government can only be justified and enlist the support of even the most prominent advocates of the right of revolution after peaceful, reformatory measures have been tried and failed; and even then such a war must be able to offer a reasonable hope of success. In the present case there is no grievance which justifies the resort to such a desperate course.

"Permit me, Sir, in closing to impress you with my fears. Many of the friends of the South at the North, with whom I am intimate, have but little sympathy with slavery, and regret its existence in the country. They defend it, however, loyally and effectively as a vested right of the South, guaranteed by the Constitution. But a civil war threatening the rupture of a free government admitted to be the best under the sun,—a rupture for the purpose of founding a government based avowedly on slavery,—can hardly hope for the sympathy of foreign peoples, even if success should be achieved.

"Civil war for the destruction of the Union will bring every man at the North, irrespective of his party or sectional affiliations, to the support of the government and the flag of his country. If conciliation now fails to protect the Union, the coldest Northerner will lay aside his profitable enterprises and will enter the army in defense of the supremacy of the government and of its laws. In this unequal contest, the South must not only suffer in blood and treasure, but the institution of slavery, as the underlying cause of the war, will, I fear, fall a sacrifice to the resentment of the victors. Many of us are derided as Union-savers at the South, and at the North; but we are not disposed to be diverted in that manner from the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. We are not prepared to welcome that deplorable state of affairs which the prophetic pen of Washington, in his Farewell Address, sought to guard against. The peculiar adaptability of this Farewell Address to the present exigency impels me to quote one or two paragraphs of its prophetic portions:

"'In contemplating the causes that may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern or Southern, Atlantic or Western, whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference in local interests and views. . . . This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole

people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.'

"Mr. President, let me speak plainly. Self preservation is an inherent and vital law of national as well as of State or individual economy. To take from the nation by secession one third of its domain, one third of its possessions, one third of its material and productive wealth and one third of its power to defend itself against foreign aggression—thereby impairing its dignity and depriving it of its proud position among the nations of the earth—seems to me to be a dream of madness. It will never be permitted so long as there is a loyal arm to defend the great heritage we have received from our fathers.

"I am not prepared to believe, Mr. President, that a statesman of your mature capacity and unquestionable patriotism, who has rendered distinguished services to our country in the Cabinet, in the Senate and in the Army can ever be induced to sully your fair fame by participating in the fratricidal war which secession now proposes."

At the close of my remarks—to which the President, a portion of his Cabinet and a large audience had listened patiently—the President came forward and, shaking me by the hand in the most cordial manner, invited me to an evening party at his residence.

While in Montgomery I sent another letter to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, as follows:

"I have met the leading men of the Confederate Administration socially as well as publicly. Most of them have a national reputation and all of them are statesmen of unquestioned ability and of great probity, whose public and private characters—secession apart—are above reproach. Indeed, the cordial reception given to this new government is attributable to the good repute and fitness of its members. They

appear to have dispelled all misgivings on the part of those who, at first, were not in sympathy with secession.

"The President is a small-sized, thoughtful-looking gentleman, neatly dressed in a full suit of grey domestic cloth. His manners are simple yet dignified, and his greeting cordial, but quiet. He talked with me informally on the political aspect of the times and the peculiar relations of the two confederacies, with a degree of openness and a freedom from partisan views which proclaim the statesman. Indeed, he spoke with the frankness of the soldier rather than in the constrained manner of the diplomatist. While deploring the possibility of hostilities between the North and the South, and admitting the folly of an appeal to arms to settle controverted questions of government in this civilized age and country, nothing escaped him reflecting in the least on the North, or the Administration, or bringing into notice the powerful military organization which his genius and popularity as a military chieftain were gathering around him. His whole tone during our interview seemed to be one of regret that the persistent fanaticism of the North should have estranged two sections which were, in most respects, congenial to each other.

"I have had interesting interviews with members of the Cabinet, whose uprightness and conservative statesmanship commend them to persons on both sides of the unfortunate controversy. To their prudence in seconding the moderation of President Davis, we are indebted for the existing peaceful relations of the two sections. I am told on good authority that Mr. Toombs, the Secretary of State, at first declined the appointment, because of modest misgivings regarding his fitness for a post requiring constant watchfulness and self restraint, while he was, in his own belief, impulsive by habit and constitution. He was finally induced to accept, however, by Mr. Stephens and other friends who appreciated his administrative ability. Everyone is surprised to find this impulsive and ready debater now one of the most cautious men of the Administration. In a Cabinet meeting he opposed firing on Fort Sumter as an unnecessary beginning of war by the South. 'The firing

on that Fort,' said Toombs, 'will inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world has ever seen. You will wantonly strike a hornet's nest which extends from ocean to ocean and legions, now quiet, will swarm out and sting us to death. To put ourselves in the wrong will be fatal.'

"My friend, Mr. Memminger, the able Secretary of the Treasury, is considered the best appointment of the Cabinet, by reason of his peculiar fitness for the arduous and perplexing duties of that position.

"He is a thoroughly educated political economist and financier who has a vast fund of practical knowledge derived from a long career as a commercial lawyer in Charleston, and as chairman of the Finance Committee of the South Carolina Legislature. He has a matchless faculty for stating clearly the most intricate mathematical problems, an invaluable quality in a financial negotiator. He will make his mark, I am sure, as the financier of this new government, and his high personal character is doing much for the popularity of the present $5,000,000 loan which I understand will be greatly over-subscribed at par.

"It may be interesting to you to know—a fact which reflects great credit on the social and political conditions of the South—that two of the most prominent members of the Confederate administration are self-made men, orphans brought up by charity. Mr. Memminger was educated at an Asylum in Charleston, and Mr. Stephens by a society of ladies at Augusta.

"Yours truly,

"RICHARD LATHERS."

From Montgomery I proceeded to Mobile, Alabama, in response to an invitation from the Chamber of Commerce of that community, with which I had a large business connection. The principal journal of Mobile rebuked editorially, on my arrival, the attitude of unfriendliness towards me which some of the extreme secessionists there were beginning to show. Among other things it said:

"Whether we agree with Col. Lathers' opinions or not we should be guilty of unpardonable discourtesy and ingratitude to our friends at the North in treating their messenger and our well-known friend with hostility. We hope, therefore, that Col. Lathers and his fraternal message will be received with the same friendly consideration as marked the reception of his address before the Executive at Montgomery."

The meeting at the Chamber of Commerce was crowded by the merchants and leading citizens of the place. The Chairman, Mr. Walker (who afterwards ranked high in the Confederacy), presented me to my social acquaintances and business correspondents as the bearer of a fraternal message from the friends of the South in the City and State of New York. In concluding, he said:—"There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the friendship of Col. Lathers or of that of the Northerners who have sent him here in behalf of the Union which they claim is the true and only permanent support of our peculiar institution, slavery, against Northern fanaticism or foreign interference. The right of free discussion is not to be restricted by any Southern community and whosoever comes before us with friendly zeal is to be listened to with thoughtful respect. Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of introducing to you Colonel Richard Lathers coming to us with an 'Address' which he will read to you and supplement by a few timely remarks from his mercantile standpoint on the mutual rights and duties of American Citizenship and the value of a united country to commerce."

I then read the New York "Address" to an attentive audience and had just begun my personal remarks when suddenly a great movement occured. News had been received that Fort Sumter had been fired upon and the War of Secession thereby opened. Since this rendered further discourse useless, the meeting was at once closed with a vote of thanks to the speaker.

After enjoying for a day or two the hospitality of my friends in Mobile, I visited New Orleans in response to an invitation

from the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce to address that body on the issues of the day and their effect on trade.

While I was at breakfast at the St. Charles Hotel, the card of the Mayor of the city was sent in to me. I hurried to the reception room, and, supposing the Mayor had come on a social call, began to thank him for his early courtesy. He smiled rather grimly at this remark, and replied: "You will probably not appreciate my early visit so highly when I inform you that you must leave the city at once as an *alien enemy*" (a new coinage of the times at the South). I replied: "I have come here on a special invitation to address your Chamber of Commerce and for no sinister or illegal purpose." He responded: "We will not discuss the motives or propriety of your visit. After the capture of Fort Sumter, the first victory of the Confederate States, it ought to occur to such an intelligent gentleman as yourself that the discussions you refer to are clearly out of place. You would be mobbed should you remain. There is a train going West at two o'clock and you must be aboard." His manner was all that courtesy could desire, but was marked by a firmness which rendered further discussion useless.

By traveling night and day through a most disturbed region crazy with enthusiasm, I reached New York just in time to witness the effect there of the opening of the Civil War.

CHAPTER VII

IN WAR TIME

I FOUND New York in a state of the most intense excitement. The great Union meeting had been held in Union Square, where the speeches were of a highly stirring character, some of the most declamatory being delivered by public men whose loyalty may have needed such asseveration. Flags floated from every housetop; cockades were worn by every one. Democracy was at a discount and Republicanism in the ascendant. The Chamber of Commerce had convened and appointed the Union Defense Committee, of which General Dix was named chairman. Military organizations were everywhere the fashion, one of the first regiments being prepared by Tammany Hall. Corporations and merchants not only subscribed freely to the military fund, but promised their employees who enlisted that their places would be kept open for them until their return; for, at that enthusiastic period, sixty days was considered more than ample for imposing peace. Secretary Seward encouraged this view which he held and expressed with great consistency for several years, even, it is said, in his diplomatic correspondence. Of course, those who were connected with corporate institutions, as I was, while ready to support every effort to save the Union by conquering a peace, could not fully share the popular enthusiasm for civil war. It was well said by a wit of the time that such was the patriotism of certain eminent loyal gentlemen that they were ready to send all their nephews and brothers-in-law into the field. "*The old flag and an appropriation,*" became the watchword of many a soldier of fortune who was careful to keep away from the front. It was about this time that the term *loyal* assumed a meaning hitherto unknown to lexicographers. The *loyal* citizen, it was currently said, was a citizen in pur-

suit of a government contract, and the *truly loyal,* the citizen who obtained one. Owners of vessels who had offered to supply the Confederacy with tonnage (to my certain knowledge, since some of them had approached me in the hope I would exert my influence in their behalf) were now to be found among the most blatant loyalists. Probably these speculators, knowing the unseaworthiness of their vessels, salved their consciences with the reflection that they would be helping the Union cause by cheating the rebels.

Many persons were openly accused of disloyalty, however, who were thoroughly loyal, as I have only too good reason to know. At the very moment I was doing my utmost in the South to save the Union, I was being violently assailed by several New York papers for antagonism to the Union. Four days before my return to New York from my Southern mission, the *Evening Post* contained the following:

"There are men among us who scruple as little to co-operate with the ring-leaders of the Southern rebellion, as if treason were as innocent a matter as the buying and selling of stocks. They have been emboldened by the general forbearance and by the example of more conspicuous villains than themselves who have escaped punishment. It is quite time that these persons should learn that there is a limit to the patience both of the American community and of the American government. It is time that they should be taught the lesson that treason is unsafe, and that the path they have chosen may lead to the prison and the gibbet.

"Yet there are other methods by which these audacious tools of sedition may be put down, without resorting to the arm of the law. Men who conspire with the enemy and give aid and encouragement to rebellion should be made to feel that they are shouldering a weight of infamy which will sink them to the earth. They should be thrust out of all places of trust; they should be made to see that they have lost the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens. Presidents and directors of incorporated companies, who are engaged in these plots

against the public order of the country which gives them its protection, should be summarily deprived of their places. Nothing but the most absolute penitence and positive conversion to better views and open recantation of his errors, should save such a man as Mr. Richard Lathers, the president of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company, who, a little while since, was boasting of his ardent loyalty to South Carolina, and his readiness to attach himself to her fortunes, from immediate deposition. Let such men be made to understand that the opportunity is open for them to take up their line of march to the seceding States and enroll themselves with the insurgents.

"Hitherto there has been no limit to the forbearance and indulgence of the Northern people. Treason has swaggered in our streets and bragged in our public meetings unchecked, but this must be endured no longer. What should be the fate of the emissaries whom the South sends among us, and the Northern men whom she bribes to act as her agents in the guilty work now begun, may deserve some consideration. It is certainly better that they should be drummed out of our borders and sent among the rebels, where they can do no harm, than that they should be caught and hanged. Our only scruple in this matter would arise from the danger that when the course of legal proceeding is once departed from, and irregular modes of compulsion substituted, there is no knowing where the people will stop. Their anger once unchained, and bursting from the ordinary restraints which the law imposes, is like the whirlwind let loose to destroy. In what has already happened, both at Philadelphia and here, the tools of treason on this side of the Potomac have received a warning to beware of provoking its excesses."

This and a number of articles of similar purport in other papers, to which my attention was called on my arrival, impelled me to send at once to all the principal papers of the city the following communication:

"New York, Sunday Evening, April 21, 1861.

"*To the Editors:*—I return to-day after an absence of over two months from the city on the business of the Company over which I preside. To my surprise I learn that my somewhat active efforts last winter to bring about a reconciliation in our federal relations, in co-operation with patriotic citizens of our State, have been misinterpreted as favoring secession. I am, and always have been, a devoted lover of our glorious Union, and, as such, shall continue to support the government under which I live, and sustain and defend the flag which protects my property and the lives of myself and my family.

"In these times of public danger perhaps the position of every citizen should be known, and I take the earliest opportunity to declare mine, which I understand has been called for by your journal during my absence.

"Very respectfully,

"Richard Lathers."

This public declaration, unequivocal as it was, did not stop the flow of abuse. The press kept up its attacks upon me, and I received scores of threatening letters of which the three following are fair samples:

"New York, April 23, 1861.

"Mr. Richard Lathers:

"*Sir:*—I am surprised to see the contemptible lie over your name in your cowardly, craven, fear-compelled letter in the *World* this morning. There is abundant proof that you have talked Secession at the South, in the city of Savannah, within two months. You know this, and you know your letter this morning is a lie, and not wishing to see you swing as a traitor, as I fear you will unless you make tracks very soon, I give you this friendly hint.

"Traitors cannot live in this atmosphere. A word to the wise is sufficient.

"Death to Traitors."

"GOD AND THE UNION.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNION VIGILANCE COMMITTEE,
"NEW YORK, Apr., 1861.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ:

"*Sir:*—As a person favoring Traitors to the Union, you are notified that your name is recorded on the Secret List of this Association; your movements being strictly watched; and that unless you openly declare your adherence to the Union, you will be dealt with as a TRAITOR!

"By order,
"33, SECRETARY."

"NEW YORK May 15 1861.

"MR. RICHARD LATHERS,
"Great Western Ins. Co., New York.

"*Sir:*—It is generally believed that you are a damned Secessionist this is to inform you that unless you give the public better proof of your fidelity to the government than you have already done, you will be waited upon by a committee who will see that you are rightly delt by. Your accursed treason doctrines and South Carolina sympathies will not do for this lattitude just now.

"Yours truly,
"WATCHMAN."

These charges of disloyalty did not prevent my receiving innumerable appeals for financial and other help in the work of vindicating the supremacy of the Union, and my responses to these appeals were so prompt and hearty that long before the close of the War the most relentless of my accusers were fain to admit that they had done me grievous wrong.

It was my pleasure and privilege to contribute to the various funds for the equipment of New York volunteers; to help to organize the Pierrepont Rifles; to serve on the Executive Committee of citizens appointed by the Y. M. C. A. to aid in fitting

out the "Ironsides Regiment"; to replace with fresh colors the old war-worn flags of the Irish Brigade; to appeal to the Common Council for a proper appropriation for the defense of the city; to draw up and secure the signatures of prominent financiers and merchants to a memorial to Governor Morgan praying for the organization of a local artillery battalion for the protection of the harbor—matters which I should not think of mentioning had not my loyalty been called in question in the brutal manner already described.

President Lincoln wisely disregarded party politics by calling into his Cabinet the great Democratic statesmen, Edwin M. Stanton and Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury, respectively.

Secretary Chase was the inventor of wonderful financial schemes which supplied the Treasury with funds in spite of the derangement of business by the War.

Secretary Stanton (to whom I was introduced by Edwards Pierrepont, subsequently Minister to Great Britain), by his firm, hopeful, and untiring devotion to the perplexing duties of the War Department under the most trying circumstances inspired the public with the confidence it needed. His very despotism was an element of power highly conducive to discipline while the Army was being organized. I remember an incident in illustration of this. As I was calling upon Secretary Stanton on political business a veteran field officer entered the room. Stanton at once recognized him and accosted him in the most peremptory manner with, "What are you doing here?" The officer in a highly respectful tone informed him that his command being near his residence, he was anxious to see his family after a prolonged absence from them, and that he had stopped *en route* to pay his respects to the Secretary of War. "You have chosen a most untimely occasion for the compliment," said Stanton. "Your place at this time is at the front. Your country, your family, and myself will best be served if you will return to your command and give your attention to the rebel army."

Secretary Chase was also capable of being severe upon occasion, but even when he was the most severe there was no brusqueness in his manner.

One morning, while I was seated with him in the Treasury building in Washington, the Cashier of the Bank of Commerce of New York, Mr. Vail, came in, and, after shaking hands with us, said, "I have this moment arrived in Washington on a mission to you, Mr. Secretary. The banks will be compelled to suspend to-morrow, and they desire that the Treasury should suspend to-day, so that the banks, by following the Government, may have a popular excuse to do that which is inevitable to both." Mr. Chase, in his soft way, replied, "Why should the Treasury suspend while your banks contain so much of the Government money? The Treasury has gold enough in your vaults to distance, at least for the present, any claims now pressing; and the Government is properly as anxious to throw the onus of suspension where its deposits lie, as you are to shift the responsibility. The fact is, Mr. Cashier, the banks of New York as well as the Treasury of the United States must suspend for want of the coin, and it is no use to attempt to shift a common evil."

The cashier returned to his bank a wiser, if not a richer, man, and the people cared little which of their repositories stopped payment first.

In the early stages of the War, before the financial policy of the Treasury was placed on a sound basis, Secretary Chase was almost constantly in communication with the financial corporations and banks of New York through the popular and energetic financier, Mr. John J. Cisco, then Sub-Treasurer. As President of the Great Western Insurance Company, I was invited by Mr. Chase to a meeting summoned to discuss the matter of aiding the Treasury by subscriptions to a loan. As I was at that time young and relatively inexperienced in banking, I called on my experienced and wealthy banking friends to inform myself as to their views on the delicate matter of naming a rate for the bonds; for I had observed that in financial discussions such opinions (and this is as true to-day

as it was then) far outweighed the most cogent arguments of the younger and less wealthy participants.

The meeting assembled in the American Exchange Bank, and was presided over by Mr. Stevens, the President of the $10,000,000 Bank of Commerce, who rose and with his usual dignity read the letter of Secretary Chase and commended it to the serious consideration of the financiers present. Then, resuming his seat, he remarked that the Chair was ready to entertain any proposition which the occasion called for. A most profound and rather painful silence followed. The President, who was one of those with whom I had consulted just before the meeting, looked over to me in an encouraging manner. So I rose and said, "Mr. President and Gentlemen: You may not all know that young as I appear I am a military veteran, having been in command of a militia regiment in time of peace, and, while never mastering the tactics of war, I became familiar through my observation of courts-martial with a courteous and useful manner of dealing with knotty questions, which I propose to ask this body of financiers to permit; namely, that the youngest and least important member give his opinion first, because, if wise, it is quite easy to adopt it, and if defective, no one will hesitate to differ with a fledgling. This is my reason for breaking the silence created by the modesty of my seniors. Gentlemen, we represent, it is true, corporations organized for mercantile purposes, the capital of which might be put to a more profitable use than the purchase of Government bonds; but when the nation is in the midst of a civil war which imperils the enterprises in which we are interested, there can be no question that our duty to our stockholders and our duty to our country coincide. The real question with regard to this departure from our ordinary business is not one of profit but of the limit of safety. If we bid for a larger sum than can be safely spared from our capital, or at a rate which the bond market will not justify, we not only hamper ourselves but render ourselves unable to give further assistance to the Treasury when needed. The fact is, our monied corporations virtually stand between the govern-

ment Treasury and the private purse. It, therefore, becomes essential that we neither bid too low, which will impair the credit of the Government, nor too high, which will repel private investors and prevent them from relieving us of a loan somewhat larger than we can permanently carry."

The President then said jocularly, "It is but justice to our military veteran to say that his financial views so modestly put, are unusually practical; and now will he name the figure which he thinks will meet the two contingencies he properly refers to?" Being armed by my private interviews with the President and other conservative patriots present, I named the figure as about 92. This brought to his feet an over-zealous, inexperienced young banker, who, extending his arms dramatically, declared that his "right arm might wither and his tongue cleave to the top of his mouth" before he would second such a degradation of the public credit as offering less than par for government bonds. I replied that it afforded me much gratification to be associated with so loyal a citizen and so liberal a financier. "Will the gentleman tell the meeting what sum he proposes to subscribe at par, as the practical proof of his loyalty?" He named the ridiculously small sum of $20,000. Now, as everyone else there expected to take from $100,000 to $500,000, it will be perceived that when money is at stake, zeal without knowledge, and without capital, should at least be modest.

During this meeting a telegram was received in Washington that the whole loan would be taken by the Boston banks; but it turned out afterwards that the Boston bid was only a loyal bid like that of our immature colleague, zealous but impotent; and the materializing of the cash had to be effected by the New York banks in the end.

In the summer of 1862 a number of conservative Democrats, of whom I was one, were urging the nomination of Gen. Dix for the Governorship of New York. We encountered much opposition, however, because many believed or assumed to believe that Gen. Dix had gone over to the Republican party. The following letter from the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, W. C. Prime, explains the situation:

"NEW YORK, Aug. 20th, 1862.

"*Dear Sir:*—What I intended to say to you was this: the convention is at hand. The probable nomination for Governor is in the dark. Seymour is the favorite—far ahead of anyone. General Dix's prospects are nowhere now. The reason is plain. The General is most highly respected by the Democrats of New York. Some of us who do not know him personally are thoroughly attached to him as a noble, honest, patriotic man. But the Democracy are resolved to nominate only a thorough-going Democrat, pledged solemnly to stand on conservative ground against every form of radicalism. Their candidate must be an open enemy of Abolitionists. He couldn't be elected on any other ground; besides that, the Democracy are now at least if not always, on purely patriotic ground. No one cares for office or spoils. No one works to succeed for personal or office-holding reasons. It is for the country that every man shapes his own political course. We must have a Governor who is just as loyal and firm in the support of the government and the Union as General Dix. That the Democracy is determined on. But he must be a man who will stand like a rock against the radicalism of the ultra Republicans. He must be above suspicion—utterly chaste as the wife of Caesar—not to be named in connection with the Northern enemies of the Constitution. This is the controlling sentiment of the Democrats here, and I firmly believe they represent a large majority in the State.

"Now the trouble with General Dix is, that he has accepted office (not military) from the Republican administration, and you know the rank and file of the Democracy here well enough to know the effect of such a course on them. It is true there is no clear idea that the General has gone over to the Republicans. But there is a suspicion, and this is damning. Now whether the General is in a position to remove this suspicion by a private letter to some friend, taking fair and square conservative and Democratic ground, you perhaps know better than I. There is no living man I would rather see nominated on a sound platform. We all believe him to be a thoroughly honest man. If nominated with a distinct conservative reputa-

tion, we can elect him by a tremendous majority. If nominated on a doubtful platform, the radicals will carry the State. It would be sure success to the Democrats if General Dix could be their candidate. You have my ideas now, hastily but I think clearly expressed.

"Yours truly,

"W. C. PRIME,

"Editor N. Y. *Journal of Commerce.*"

Those of us who knew Gen. Dix intimately knew that he had not ceased to be a Democrat; but to the end of presenting clearly and authoritatively to the general public his views and desires and of obtaining copies of certain original documents corroborating these views and desires, I was appointed to interview him at Fortress Monroe, where he was then stationed.

On reaching Washington I found that owing to some military disaster citizens were prohibited from going to Fortress Monroe. I called on Mr. Stanton, therefore, and related the whole matter to him. He told me candidly that he was opposed to the acceptance of a partisan nomination by Gen. Dix, but added half jokingly that he would give me a pass on condition that I also carry a letter from him to Gen. Dix advising him not to become a candidate. I accepted the conditions and did the two errands.

The general result of this interview will be gathered from a letter which I wrote to Gen. Dix some time after my return to New York.

"Sept. 27th, 1862.

"MAJOR GENL. JOHN A. DIX, Fortress Monroe.

"*My dear Sir:*—On my return from Fortress Monroe I laid before Mr. Prime the copies of your able correspondence, giving him as full an explanation of the peculiar and significant bearing of each case as I was capable of recalling. With his usual penetration, he at once comprehended the delicate nature of your official duties—complicated as they were by the vexatious interference of fanatical demagogues whose pertinacity

has done much to weaken the influence of the Union element in the border States, and to which we may justly attribute most of our military disasters. In common with your other friends, he took immediate measures by correspondence and otherwise, to have your efficient and patriotic service, and your connection with the Administration, fully understood and correctly appreciated. He commended in the highest degree the vigorous and statesman-like paper which your military administration had produced, and which he regretted he could not be permitted to publish. In co-operation with your friends Judge Pierpont, Judge Barber, Mayor Baldwin, Wilson G. Hunt, and State Senator McMurray, a meeting of a few of the leading conservatives of the city was held at the house of Senator McMurray, where I gave a general account of my very satisfactory interview with you, and a full explanation of the subject matter of the official correspondence which confirmed them in confidence in you. I need not say how intensely satisfactory your course was regarded, and how earnestly all desired to have your name put before the convention of all parties at the coming election for chief magistrate of the State. I also freely gave your views as to any use to be made of your name in connection with such nomination and your preference for a senatorial nomination. It was believed to be too late to bring your name prominently before the Convention, as the meeting at Albany would convene in a few days, unless it should be found that Mr. Seymour's friends would yield without a struggle; it being important as well for your future prospects as for the interests of the country that the nominations should be as free from controversy as possible. In addition to this I explained that you would be unwilling to accept a nomination for Governor under a very rigid party organization, especially if strongly put in opposition to the Administration, owing to the fact that your relations to the Administration, as a military official of high rank and responsibility, precluded during a time of war the use of your name in such connection as might seem antagonistic to the Government.

"The nomination of Mr. Seymour suits we think all the

conservative elements of the State, especially against a candidate so extreme as Gen. Wadsworth. Your friends are therefore sanguine that a conservative success this fall will insure your election to the United States Senate.

"How will our friend Mr. Stanton be likely to lean in our contest here? Will the right of discussion of the press and of individuals be permitted during the canvass? Many intelligent and conservative men of both parties fear that the President's proclamation No. two, presages arrests for party purposes. Of course I do not believe that our country can ever be subjected to tyranny of this sort. When such a thing is possible we will no longer be a free people. I send you a copy of the *Journal of Commerce*. You will perceive Mr. Prime initiates and favors your senatorial canvass and I shall see other members of the press to the same end, as we wish to get your name in free use in all parts of the State in that connection. . . . .

"I am yours very truly,

"RICHARD LATHERS."

The refusal of General Dix to have his name considered, except as a non-partisan candidate, led to the nomination, without opposition, of Horatio Seymour, as a typical Union Democrat. The radical element, fearing his popularity as a conservative statesman, who had already served the State as its executive, set about to malign him as a rebel sympathizer; and, indeed, it was believed by his friends that an attempt would be made to trump up some charge by which he could be spirited off to Fort Lafayette by the War Department, as others had been. Mr. Emanuel B. Hart (a Sachem of Tammany Hall) and I were selected to confer with the candidate especially with reference to the speech to be made by him at a Democratic ratification meeting to be held in the Academy of Music. This conference took place in my private office on Pine Street. After a little discussion, we requested the governor to read his proposed speech. He replied that he never wrote out speeches for such occasions, but he would give us a general idea of what it would be. He then put his hand in his

waistcoat pocket and produced a number of slips of paper about three inches long and half an inch wide, on each of which a sentence was written as a sort of catchword. These slips were systematically arranged so that he could easily refer to them. He began with slip number one and expanded it, and so on till he had made use of all the slips. We listened with profound admiration. Mr. Hart then said, "Governor, your speech is worthy of a Democratic statesman, and of yourself, but we must have a more specific endorsement of the war. You and our party are charged with sympathy with the rebellion, and with obstructing the military measures of the government. This mendacity is now the only weapon which the Republicans can use with effect to influence ignorant voters in a contest with a military candidate against you." At our request Mr. Seymour then revised certain portions of his speech. Mr. Hart admitted that these revisions were important, but he insisted that there should be somewhere a sentence for popular quotation which could not be perverted. The Governor replied, "I agree with you perfectly, but it is these terse and taking sentences which, with all one's care to be explicit, are so often perverted or improperly applied, to the injury of the speaker or writer." He then picked up one of the slips and gave a paragraph which ended with the phrase, "The necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war." This was just what we wanted, and it was this sentence which not only brought out the cheers of the entire audience at the rally in the Academy of Music, but which made his election possible.

At this same Academy of Music rally, a now celebrated letter of General Scott was read in public for the first time. General Scott had served his country on too many battlefields, and loved the flag and the Union too sincerely to be led astray by his secession friends and associates in his State of Virginia. Deeply disturbed by the menaces of the disunion elements in Congress and in the South, he had earnestly urged President Buchanan's Secretary of War, and, finding him unresponsive, President Buchanan himself, to

garrison the forts in Southern ports; reminding them that it was this sort of precaution that nipped in the bud the revolutionary movement of 1832 in Charleston, where a naval demonstration satisfied the Nullifiers that the Government, under President Jackson, had the power to enforce the laws of the country, and meant to exercise it. This wise advice, as is well known, had been recklessly disregarded. General Scott, feeling his responsibility as the Commander of the Government forces, determined to make one last desperate effort to save the country from a civil war, which he foresaw would be long and terrible, by appealing to the incoming Republican administration. Accordingly, in a letter to Hon. W. H. Seward, dated March 3, 1861, he gave his political solution of the difficulty, advising substantially the admirable Crittenden Compromise. He explained that the putting down of the rebellion by force of arms would demand an invading army of 300,000 men, and that even such an army could not hope to be successful in less than two or three years; that after the rebellion was put down the fifteen conquered States would have to be held by garrisons—a situation from which a military despotism would be likely to result. And he concluded that it would be better to say to the seceded States, "Wayward sisters, go in peace," than to resort to such a sacrifice of blood, property, and political liberties to hold them.

John Van Buren, after depicting eloquently and vividly the horror of imbruing our hands in the blood of our Southern brethren, read this letter in full without naming the writer of it in advance. The audience listened intently, speculating the while as to who the reckless person so out of sympathy with the party in power could be. Finally, when he had finished reading, Mr. Van Buren added in his most ringing and most emphatic tones, "This is the advice of the loyal and venerated Commander of our armies, General Winfield Scott!"

The effect was electrical. I have witnessed the marvelous effects of eloquence in many public meetings, but I never

witnessed enthusiasm equal to that which this single sentence evoked.

I had the honor of initiating a movement for the presentation to Gen. Scott by the New York Chamber of Commerce of an equestrian portrait of himself (as the hero of Chapultapec), by Trozé, which had been intended originally for the Military Institute of his native State of Virginia, but which had been refused by that institution because of Gen. Scott's loyalty to the Union.

While speaking of Gen. Scott, I cannot resist narrating an incident of the War of 1812 which I got from Thurlow Weed (one of the greatest editors, politicians, and storytellers of his time) on one of his visits to the Manhattan Club.

It appears that near the lines of Scott's command on the Canadian border was situated the residence of a wealthy lady, a British subject, over which with proper gallantry Scott placed guards to prevent damage to the property. The lady, in apparent recognition of this courteous protection, invited the General and his staff to breakfast with her family and a few lady friends. Although not strictly according to military discipline to go outside the lines, yet a good breakfast with beautiful and cultured ladies was not to be refused by men weary of camp fare. The officers were cordially received in the drawing room by their fascinating hostess, and after some general conversation breakfast was announced. Just as the guests were taking their seats at the breakfast table, however, one of them returned to the drawing room to get his bandanna handkerchief which he had left in his hat—where at that time the handkerchief was ordinarily carried instead of in the pocket. The hat happened to lie on a stool in a window overlooking a clump of shrubbery, in which he perceived several redcoats with muskets, evidently waiting in ambush a favorable opportunity to capture the American officers. Without displaying any alarm he quietly went back to the breakfast room and notified his party that they were betrayed, whereupon they all jumped out of the window at the back of the house, mounted horses which happened to be near, and

escaped, reaching camp just in time to confront the British detachment which opened the celebrated battle of Lundy's Lane. "I had this story from Gen. Scott himself," said Mr. Weed, "and he told me that he made his officers pledge their honor never to divulge, while he lived, this violation of discipline which was not to be condoned even by the brilliant victory of which it was the harbinger if not the origin."

On this or a similar occasion, Mr. Weed told the following anecdote to illustrate the wonderful self-possession of Abraham Lincoln. I give it as nearly in Mr. Weed's own words as my memory permits: "It is well known that Mrs. Lincoln had a singular prejudice against anyone who seemed to have any influence with her husband. On my first visit to the President-elect at Springfield (in behalf of the Republican party to urge the selection of Mr. Seward as his Secretary of State), I was invited by Mr. Lincoln to stop at his house. I accepted, but I soon found that Mrs. Lincoln did not like me. Indeed, she was barely polite to me. I was not disposed, however, to have my mission defeated by the contempt of a woman, and I stayed on. One night at supper when several other guests were present, Mr. Lincoln, who was a great joker, cracked a joke which displeased Mrs. Lincoln because she erroneously imagined it to be at her expense. Quicker than a flash she picked up a cup of hot tea and flung it clear across the table at Mr. Lincoln's head, then jumped up in great fury and rushed out of the room. You can well conceive the embarrassment of the eight or ten guests. In a second, however, Mr. Lincoln, who had only escaped the scalding tea by ducking—the cup striking the wall back of him and flying into pieces—raised his head with great deliberation and remarked very clamly, 'There were two branches of the Todd family in Virginia, one celebrated for irascible temper, and the other for amiability; I need not add that I married into the amiable branch.' This restored the spirits of the company, and inside of one minute conversation was in full blast as if nothing had happened."

In 1862, at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr.

C. H. Marshall offered the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, Our commerce with Europe is very much exposed to the depredations of rebel pirates, there being no armed national vessels on that coast at this time.

"*Resolved,* That the President of this Chamber be requested to appoint a committee to draft a respectful memorial to the Executive, requesting the speedy despatch of two or more armed vessels to that coast for the protection of our marine interests, and to present said memorial with as little delay as practicable at Washington for a favorable consideration."

The President of the Chamber named as this committee, Messrs. C. H. Marshall (chairman), T. Tileston, and myself. Our committee prepared the following Memorial:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

"President of the United States:

"The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York respectfully asks your attention to the necessity which now exists for the speedy despatch of armed vessels of the United States to the coast of Europe, for the protection of our merchant marine trading between ports of the loyal States and European ports.

"The destruction, in the English Channel, on the 16th of November last, by the rebel steamer Nashville, of the New York packet ship HARVEY BIRCH, one of our largest and finest carrying vessels, bound from Havre to New York, gives rise to apprehensions that similar depredations on our commerce will be attempted with equal success, unless the most efficient measures for their prevention are taken at once.

"The apprehensions thus excited have caused a great advance in the rate of insurance on both sides of the Atlantic, are producing much alarm among shippers and consignees, and also causing serious disquiet with regard to the safety

of passengers. It is apparent that the outrages committed on the flag and commerce of the United States, hitherto confined to our own coasts, will be repeated wherever the opportunity occurs, unless promptly checked by the intervention of the Government.

"In behalf of the vast commercial and national interests thus imperiled, and to avert the disastrous consequences which will follow if the passage of our merchant ships on the great highways of European trade is liable to such fatal interruptions, we respectfully and urgently solicit that you will immediately cause to be stationed a sufficient number of steam vessels off the coast of Europe, where our commerce is most exposed, to guard against further acts of piracy upon our merchant marine, and to punish those who may attempt them.

"By order of the Chamber,
"E. PERIT, President Chamber of Commerce.
"J. SMITH HOMANS, Secretary."

In pursuance of the mission confided to us by the Chamber of Commerce, our committee went to Washington, where a number of the New York State delegation in Congress volunteered to accompany us on our visit to the President. We assembled in the parlor of the Arlington Hotel properly attired for so formal a visit, and, marching to the White House two by two, entered the ornate reception room. In a few minutes President Lincoln appeared, not in official garb as we had expected, but shuffling along in two shabby old slippers of dimensions overliberal even for his very large feet, and a much faded and out-of-shape dressing gown, which satisfied us that he intended to feel much at home, irrespective of any stiffness we might assume toward the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He shook each of us by the hand heartily, and taking his seat at the head of a long table invited us to do the same, adding, "Tell me your business at once." I then submitted the foregoing Memorial to the President, supplementing it by explaining to him that the loyal merchants of

New York derived their power to aid his administration in subduing the rebellion from the profits and income of foreign commerce; that our mission was to ask him to protect this important resource of the Government by a few naval vessels, for the expense of which underwriters and merchants of the city were ready to make a liberal subscription.

The President seemed to be in full sympathy with my remarks while I was speaking, but when I had closed he made me feel cheap enough by saying with a merry twinkle in his eye, "Very well put, young man, but the blanket is too short," a remark which fell like lightning out of a clear sky upon our committee. But the President resumed, "This remark is not to apply to your speech, but to the object of it. If you should ever sojourn in a tavern at my old home in Springfield, of a cold winter night, you might be put in a room without furnace or stove, and if you were tall like myself and desired to cover your chest with the blanket you would uncover your feet, and if you desired to protect your feet you would then have to uncover your chest. That is the present condition of our small navy. If we fully protect the Confederate harbors from blockade running, we cannot cover the China Seas and other distant grounds where the rebel cruisers are to be found. But, gentlemen, I am in full sympathy with you, and I will postpone the regular meeting of the Cabinet for two hours, and I advise you to avail yourselves of the opportunity to call on each of the members."

The committee did as the President advised, and was well received by the Cabinet officers, who subsequently discussed the matter in their Cabinet meeting; but the President, as in all things coming before him, seemed to have had an intuitive knowledge of every practical aspect of the case. The blanket was really too short, and the Secretary of the Navy had not the power to make it longer.

I commenced my appeal to the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, by saying that, while our committee was impressed by the dignity of his high position as the Premier of this great nation, we felt on the other hand a special nearness to him

as a citizen of the great State of New York. He stopped me at once, and with much majesty said, "No, sir; a citizen of the United States." After this exhibition of his doctrinaire propensity, however, we found him ready to do everything he could to forward the object of our mission. And it may be proper here to mention that it was by reason of his requesting the underwriters to take great care to provide themselves with the fullest legal proofs of the amount of their losses when vessels insured by them were captured by the rebels, that the claims on Great Britain were able to be properly formulated and pressed after the war.

When our formal interview with Secretary Chase was over, the Secretary remarked to me that one of our committee had informed him that I was an expert bookkeeper as well as an underwriter. He would be glad, he said, if I would go with him in the morning into the issue department of the Treasury, where the books would prove to me that not only was every post bill (afterwards called greenback) issued carefully numbered and registered, but that even the purpose for which it was put into circulation was specified. This I found to be fully accomplished by a novel but clear set of entries, and so reported to the Chamber of Commerce on my return to New York, where a false rumor had been spread that these bills were rapidly printed and issued like a daily paper.

In December of this year (1862) I received from J. C. G. Kennedy, the Commissioner of the National Census Bureau, the following letter, which displays in an interesting light the character of Secretary Seward:

"WASHINGTON, 22 Dec., 1862.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS,

"New York.

"*My dear Sir:*—On Tuesday I dined with Baron Gerolt. The dinner was a diplomatic one; I, the only guest unknown to fame and diplomacy. The guests were foreign ministers and their attachés and Mr. Seward and son. The chairman of Foreign Affairs of the Senate was invited, but came not;

late in the evening the Baron handed me a note from him expressing his disappointment etc., etc., etc. I then said there is a breach in the Cabinet. No one would have guessed it from Mr. Seward's hilarity; he was extremely lively and entertaining, and left a little after ten o'clock. Last evening, I passed an hour and a half with him. I alluded to his vivacity on Friday evening. He said, 'I was at that moment the happiest man, for I imagined myself relieved of the cares which so greatly have oppressed me, and fondly dreamed myself a free man, as I had just resigned my place at the head of the Cabinet, but this pleasure was not of long duration.' He, on yesterday, agreed to acquiesce in the demands of the President for his return, upon what principle I know not; but am assured there is no likelihood of any difference between him and the President, leading him to any like course hereafter.

"He spoke confidently of his hope for an early improvement in the appearance of things and declared that in his opinion the hour of gloom had passed and that the future promised hope. I read your letter to him, whereupon he made some kind comments and reiterated his belief that the morning dawneth.

"Ever faithfully,

"J. C. G. KENNEDY."

Mr. Kennedy (the writer of the above), an intimate friend from whom I received many letters at this time which aided me greatly in keeping abreast of the social and political doings at the National Capital, was the trusted friend of President Lincoln, of the Secretary of State, of Senators Thurman and Sumner, of all the older leaders in Congress, and of the larger part of the diplomatic corps. He was also a classical scholar of acknowledged proficiency. I recall many discussions between Senators Thurman and Sumner and other men fond of the classics with regard to passages in the Greek and Latin poets; and time and again I have heard his companions say, "Come, Kennedy, which of us quotes these lines properly?"

Although of the old line Whig school of the Republican party, he was exceptionally popular with men of all parties because of his sterling good sense, his integrity, and his conservatism in matters of religion. His house was modest and his hospitality unpretentious, but he received more distinguished people than any other individual in Washington.

During one of my visits to Washington after the close of the war I invited a few friends to meet Mr. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy and daughter at an informal luncheon at Chamberlain's Hotel. Among those invited were Senator and Mrs. Squires, Judge and Mrs. MacArthur, General and Mrs. Van Vliet, Senator and Mrs. Eustis, and Mr. and Mrs. Tappan of Boston. Mr. Kennedy was greatly annoyed to find, at the last moment, that an official engagement might prevent him from being present. The company had assembled in the parlor and Mrs. MacArthur was kind enough to offer to superintend the laying of the table in the adjoining room. She returned quickly to the parlor, however, greatly alarmed from discovering that provision had been made for thirteen guests. She declared that her fears would not allow her to sit down with a party of thirteen, because she shared in the belief that one of the number must die before the end of a year. Our efforts to divest her mind of this superstition utterly failed; but fortunately Mr. Kennedy put in an appearance and got us out of our dilemma as he made number fourteen.

A crazy, drunken vagabond assassinated Mr. Kennedy in broad daylight in the street near his office a few months after without any alleged cause whatever—whereby the fallacy of the " thirteen theory " was signally exemplified.

In the earlier stages of the war, by reason of my close relations with several high officials at Washington (for which I was largely indebted to the good offices of Mr. Kennedy), I was constantly called upon to approach these officials with regard to matters of policy and preferment both military and civil, and was beseiged furthermore with pathetic appeals for news of the missing from both armies and with requests for passes to visit the front.

J. C. G. Kennedy
From a photograph of a painting

While dining with Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister, soon after the beginning of the war, I witnessed from his residence the torch-light ovation (by, I think, the Fifth Army Corps) to General McClellan. All Washington seemed to be illuminated, and the people seemed to have gone crazy with enthusiasm over "Little Mac," as he was lovingly called at that time by many of the persons who afterwards would gladly have had him crucified. He was the very god of war, judging by the speeches of Mr. Seward and other members of the Cabinet to the enormous outdoor assemblage gathered to do him honor. He was the young Napoleon; and the illustrated papers of the day were filled with equestrian portraits of him resembling those of Napoleon crossing the Alps.

I recall a lecture in New York by an engraver who said that when McClellan was removed and General Pope put in command of the Army of the Potomac the publishers utilized the McClellan equestrian plate by simply boring out the head of McClellan and inserting that of Pope in its place. This device, he added, was resorted to every time that there was a change in the command of the Army of the Potomac; and thus the original McClellan plate was used finally for equestrian portraits of Gen. Grant—a most striking commentary on the fickleness of popular favor.

I was in Washington at the time of the fearful and disgraceful defeat of the army under General Pope, also; a period of great depression and excitement, in which the Administration was compelled to appeal to the generosity of McClellan to go to the head of his army again and save the Union.

A number of friends and advisers of the General met at the residence of one of them, to whom I am indebted for this statement, to discuss the conditions of his returning to the command of a defeated and discouraged army. He had against him not only the civil administration at home, dominated by a factious and reckless party press, but also the head of the War Department, who, besides withholding the reenforcements called for, actually withdrew from the lines, on

the flimsy excuse of protecting the Capital, an army corps forming an important link in the plan of operations. It was first determined to be necessary that McClellan should reassume command of the army which idolized him and which had been, after his removal, abused, defeated and discouraged by reason of political appointments; but it was argued that in acceding to the President's earnest request the General should require certain specific promises of non-interference with his military plans by the Secretary of War or by the political advisers of the Executive in Congress. It proved to be a most difficult task to draw a paper which should embody the ideas of all the persons present. One draft after another was submitted and rejected, and my friend, worn out with fatigue, fell asleep. After hours of discussion, a form was agreed upon and he was waked up for his assent thereto. His sleep had given him a conservative view of the matter and he said, "Gentlemen, it seems to me that General McClellan will be criticised if he attemps to make conditions with his country in time of danger. Therefore, in behalf of the General, I advise throwing this in the fire, and sending the General's simple acceptance." And his counsel prevailed.

Some time after this I had the privilege of giving a dinner in honor of General and Mrs. McClellan at New Rochelle, at which the Mayor of New York, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and several bankers, merchants, and editors were present. The speeches after the dinner felicitated Gen. McClellan on his wonderful creation of the Army of the Potomac, and on the zeal and bravery of his officers and men in every battle into which he had led them in defense of the Union, and reflected on the partisans who had influenced the President to remove him. General McClellan being toasted first as the guest of the occasion, replied modestly, abstaining from the least reference to his ill treatment by the Administration. The President of the Chamber of Commerce, who was toasted next, was given much applause when he rose to reply. Now this gentleman, esteemed for his prominence and liberality in public matters as well as for his pleasing manner, began his

speech by praising the General for his high moral character and for his distinguished services in the field, intending, it was very evident, to indorse the political objections against McClellan of the sectional partisans who had attempted to shake his popularity. As soon as he had closed his eulogy, however, and uttered the word *but,* a storm of applause broke forth which was renewed every time he attempted to go on. Finding it impossible to resume his speech, he whispered to me, "What does this interruption mean?" I replied, "It is quite obvious that your glowing words have not yet expended their patriotic influence on your friends." At this point another gentleman, William C. Prime, I think, an intimate friend and confidential supporter of the General, was toasted, and complimented the preceding speaker on his broad views of public policy and his appreciation of the merits of our distinguished guest. The next morning the opponents of McClellan were astonished to read in the papers a eulogy of him by the President of the Chamber of Commerce.

Several of the radical journals of the day were disposed to gauge the retired General's loyalty by the supposed want of it in his host. Thus, Wilkes' *Spirit of the Times* contained the following:

"*Political sympathies*—In noticing the daily movements of McClellan the presses which rejoice in the contemplation of the genius of McClellan, have failed to notice that Gen. McClellan recently enjoyed a grand and formal dinner at the house of Richard Lathers, at New Rochelle. Mr. Lathers is a wealthy merchant of secession proclivities, who initiated the early movements in favor of the South. We are somewhat curious to see a list of the guests of the occasion."

Another journal remarked: "General McClellan's proclivites for the South can be verified by his accepting the invitation of that dare-devil Lathers, whose rebel sentiments are well known, while he has declined numerous invitations of loyal men."

The truth was, that the General was anxious to retire from public observation. He only consented to come to my house

quietly, to meet a few of his intimate friends, with the understanding that the guests should be invited personally and that care should be taken to keep it out of the newspapers. But with all our efforts to avoid publicity the train was detained by force at every station at which it stopped by an enthusiastic crowd who were determined to see and cheer "Little Mac"; and it was with the greatest difficulty my coachman drove him through the throng of his admirers to my house.

One morning in the early part of 1863, a Committee of Three, composed of Moses H. Grinnel, C. N. Marshall, and William E. Dodge, called on me at my office and informed me that such was the public alarm, owing to the many mistakes in the management of the war, and the financial risk it involved, that it had become necessary to organize a League of the chief corporations and business men of the country pledged to unconditional loyalty to the Government; that the Presidents of all the corporations in the City had already signed the pledge, and that they now called on me as the President of the Great Western Insurance Company to join in the loyal work. I replied, "Gentlemen, I thank you for the compliment of your rather tardy visit, and I desire to congratulate you on the measure of safety you have originated. The factions in the political parties at this time are, indeed, alarming, and well calculated to discourage the President and the commander of the army in the field. I have myself never had any doubt of the ultimate success of the Union armies or of the loyalty of the great body of the people, even at the South, and I respect this precautionary personal pledge in every signer, who thus arms himself against his own weakness. But I cannot sign such a paper as you present. You may all know that my early manhood was passed in Georgetown, South Carolina, a little city set in the midst of fertile fields, whose planters resided a part of the year in town. They were not rich, as wealth is computed here, but they lived well and, perhaps, luxuriously, considering their modest fortunes, drinking the best of old Madeira in greater quantities, at times, than temperance would justify. An eloquent Northern temper-

ance lecturer visited Georgetown and satisfied these wine drinkers that total abstinence was the only safe remedy against what they themselves deprecated as excess. A Total Abstinence Society was organized among the old men, and then it was proposed to bring in the young men, also. The committee, unlike your committee, waited on me first to obtain my name to the pledge as an example to other young business men, as I had at that time the peculiar reputation of never having tasted wine, although my house was well known for good wine and hospitality. I said to my temperance friends, 'I cannot so far undervalue my own temperance as to admit the necessity of taking a pledge to avoid drunkenness.' And to you, gentlemen, I would say with all respect, 'I am unwilling to impugn my own stability by taking a pledge to avoid disloyalty.'"

After this short and rather personal harangue, my old friend, Moses H. Grinnel, always outspoken, said to the committee, "I told you he would make a damned ingenious excuse, but that he would not sign the pledge."

While dining one day in Washington with Mr. Riggs of the Government banking firm of Corcoran and Riggs, I sat next to Baron Steckel, the Russian Minister, who said to me, "I understand from Mr. Riggs that you are intimate with Mr. Seymour the newly elected Governor of the State of New York. I want to ask a favor of you. My master, the Czar, is quite disappointed by the non-realization of Secretary Seward's repeated assurances to me that the Civil War will be over in sixty days. The Czar is, therefore, desirous of having a reliable opinion from an experienced statesman like Governor Seymour of New York, who disregards the prejudices of both parties and yet has the popularity to be elected the Governor of the greatest and most powerful State in the Union—in spite of the opposition of the Federal Government. Would you be willing to go to Albany and lay this request of the Czar before the Governor, asking him for a confidential opinion upon the subject?" I replied that while I did not regard myself as being on such confidential terms with the Governor as the request implied, I should consider myself

honored by being entrusted with such a mission but I feared that my efforts would prove as unsatisfactory to himself and the Czar as the promises of Mr. Seward.

On reaching Albany I called on the Governor in the Executive Chamber and laid before him the request of the Czar, saying, "Governor, you know that I could not be the means of asking you to give an opinion which might, by being published, conflict with your interests, and, therefore, I have stated plainly at the outset the object of my visit; now, if for any reason either consent or refusal to express an opinion would embarrass you, I shall simply write to Baron Steckel declining to interview you." To my surprise the Governor promptly said, "It will afford me pleasure to give the Czar the opinion he desires. It is a rule of mine to express my opinion unreservedly, when it is asked, on all subjects connected with public matters. Go into my private office, and, as soon as I despatch some official business, I will give you my ideas as to the permanence of the Union. However long the struggle to destroy the Union may be maintained, it cannot be dissolved, for reasons I will make clear to you." When the Governor came into his office he carried in his hand a map of the United States which he hung on the wall, saying, "Suppose that the army of Lee should be successful, or that a weak administration in Washington should be ready to divide the Union with the Confederates; and suppose you were appointed to run the line of division, show me by placing a pin on the map where you would start it." I immediately stuck a pin in the center of the River Ohio between the State of Kentucky and the State of Ohio. "Here," said I. "There can be no safer boundary than this river. Ohio is a Northern State, chiefly settled by New Englanders and by Emancipationists. Kentucky, on the other hand, is a slaveholding Southern State, settled by and acting with the extreme class of Secessionists." The Governor here broke in, saying, "But you reckon without your host. The Kentuckian will object to a separation from his friends across the river, to whom he is not hostile and with whom property, business, and family ties have existed

from the beginning." "Well," said I, "we will draw the line south of Kentucky, and make Kentucky a Northern State." The Governor objected: "Kentucky is not only Southern in origin and feeling, but as a slaveholding State would not willingly join the Northern Confederacy." "Then we will place the line north of Ohio," said I. To this the Governor also objected: "The people of Ohio come of a New England Abolition and Puritanical race utterly unwilling to be joined with slaveholders." He continued: "I have demonstrated to you, I think, on the map of our country the impossibility of running any division line acceptable to the border States. A reconstruction into two independent governments is quite impossible. The wisdom of the fathers impelled them to constitute a federated Union in which every institution peculiar to each State was to be respected. The violation of this fundamental principle by the radical element of the Northern States led to our present bloody war. Pride of opinion, based on sectional prejudice, has intensified the war spirit on both sides. The Union must, and will be, preserved, and war is now the only means to that end. There can be no reasonable doubt of the success of the National Government because of its superior resources of men and money, of military and naval equipment, and its financial credit. But the Southerners are of the same bold, persistent blood as ourselves, and he would be a wise prophet who could fix a date for the end of such a conflict."

I regret that I did not retain a copy of the letter in which I reproduced for the Russian Minister this interesting reasoning of the Governor, much of which has now escaped my memory. I learned afterwards, through my friend Mr. Riggs, that my letter was sent to the Czar and filed as an important opinion on the American Civil War, coming, as it did, from so distinguished a source as Governor Seymour.

In the spring of 1863 I crossed the Atlantic in company with Mr. Wm. M. Evarts and Mr. William H. Aspinwall—my object being the establishment of a foreign agency of the "Great Western." It was said that these two gentlemen and

a distinguished merchant and political leader of Boston who met them in London were sent by our Government to consult with our Minister, Mr. Adams, on the best mode of preventing the illegal fitting-out in England of Confederate privateers as contrary to international comity if not to international law. Whether this was true or not, they were received with marked social and semi-official courtesies.

I was invited, as the friend and traveling companion of Mr. Aspinwall and Mr. Evarts, to participate in most of the hospitalities extended to them.

The day after our arrival in London, James McHenry, the banker, called; and for some time thereafter his fine carriage with its liveried coachman attended daily to drive us in the park and to the various places to which my companions desired to go. We also received handsomely engraved cards of invitation to a grand dinner to be given by Mr. McHenry at Oak Cottage, his fine villa in a part of the Holland Park which he had been able to procure in spite of the English sentiment against breaking up the estates of the aristocracy. As these invitations were sent out nearly a month ahead, I was able to make quite a tour on the Continent, and still return in time for the dinner.

In Paris I accompanied to the confectioner's the courier who had Mr. McHenry's orders to fill for the dinner. The confections ordered bore Mr. McHenry's monogram on each piece, and were put up in beautiful baskets which alone cost fifty francs.

The dinner was an affair of great dignity in all respects. The dining room was finished with onyx and other polished stones, and the gaslight was toned down by cut glass panels inserted in the ceiling. The table linen was specially manufactured for Mr. McHenry, and had his monogram woven into it. The under cover was of rich blue velvet. The finger bowls, which were of cut glass and silver, also bore his monogram, and contained a clock-work machine which projected a spray perfumed with attar of roses. The baskets of confections already referred to were presented to the ladies after they left

the table, at the drawing room door, by their escorts. I met here the editor of the London *Times* and the president of the Bank of England, and other financiers, as well as a number of distinguished Americans.

It is needless to say that this dinner had a financial object, and one of the most favored guests informed me years after that it cost him a $30,000 loss by an investment made the next day in railway *debentures.*

Mr. McHenry was a man of pleasing manners, and possessed a wonderful faculty for interesting capitalists in the issues of stocks or bonds in which he was himself interested. Many of these investments proved unfortunate for his friends; but his integrity was never doubted, however much his judgment was called in question and his persuasive quality dreaded.

I may remark here in passing that during this my first sojourn in England I was elected an honorary member of the Committee of Lloyds, and made an address before that body on the origin and growth of marine insurance.

In Manchester I was the guest of Thomas Fielding, the head of one of the largest combined manufacturing and banking firms of Great Britain. At the earnest solicitation of Mr. Fielding and his friends, I delivered the following address, on the 11th of May, before the Chamber of Commerce of that city:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF MANCHESTER:

"I appreciate most highly the compliment you pay me as an individual, and still more as a merchant and a member of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, in asking me to address you.

"The sympathies engendered by commercial and industrial pursuits not only overleap national boundaries, but dispel the prejudices of race and of forms of government. International commerce tends to the suppression of war, and helps powerfully to spread the gospel of peace and good will to men.

"War, civil and foreign, is too often due to the intrigues of ambitious leaders who devote their energies to rousing the passions and prejudices of the people, rather than to instilling into their minds practical views of the public interest. A review of the history of modern domestic revolutions and of international contests, with all their bloody victories and defeats, demonstrates that even the victories have rarely yielded as much substantial advantage as could have been secured by civil reform and by judicious foreign negotiations. In your own modern history the most permanent reforms have come from legislation and diplomacy.

"The Civil War in my own country is one of the most needless and unjustifiable of which it is possible to conceive. A cultivated and prosperous section of our country has staked its all on a causeless rebellion against a friendly government of great power and boundless resources. The Secession leaders who were enjoying dignified posts under the national government have not only risked the prestige of these positions, but they have staked on the issue of war the very institution of slavery which they pretend to desire to protect against possible adverse civil legislation; and this in the face of the direct and unqualified assurance of the party in power and the official declaration of the President that slavery is protected by the Constitution and is considered by them inviolable. It is the power of the United States alone which guarantees the permanence of slave property to the South. It is not to be disguised that the whole civilized world, with or without reason, is arrayed against slavery, nor is it to be disguised that our government is the only barrier against emancipation; and if this civil war could succeed in establishing a government 'founded on slavery' the edifice would be of a very ephemeral nature.

"It is the election of Mr. Lincoln, the candidate of the Republican Party, to the Presidency which is now adduced as the chief reason for attempting to destroy the Union, and for plunging the country into the horrors of civil war. The Secessionists adduce no positive grievance to justify war;

they only claim that this success of a political party is a menace to their institution of slavery. Now the Constitution is a complete and effectual barrier against emancipation. Furthermore, the Supreme Court and the Senate are in full sympathy with these rights of the South and would oppose any attempt to legislate in emancipation. Finally, Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, not only asserted in the most solemn and unqualified language his own personal and official want of power or desire to interfere with slavery, but he pointed out that the party platform upon which he was elected proclaimed the same sentiments. Indeed the great body of the North, with the exception of a few fanatics of the Eastern States (men of but limited influence) were active in advocating measures of fraternal consideration. A Peace Congress embracing leading men of all parties was convened at Washington. Public meetings were held in the Northern cities, for the purpose of assuring the South that their constitutional rights would be preserved in the future as they had been in the past. At one of these meetings called in Pine Street, New York City, which was attended by prominent citizens from all parts of the State of New York, a fraternal 'Address' to the South was unanimously voted pledging the support of the State to the defense of Southern rights under the Constitution, and appealing to the patriotism of the Southern people against the contemplated rupture of the Union. A commission of which I had the honor of being a member, was appointed to bear this 'Address' to the Governors of the Southern States. While on this mission, I observed that in all the cities the merchants and business men who were not under a kind of social or political duress, were averse to the secession which the political leaders were championing. Indeed, I found that the enthusiasm for secession was largely a manufactured sentiment which quiet citizens feared to combat under the menace of being ostracised in social and even in business circles. The business men, the most stable element of the South, were not, at heart, favorable to Secession then and surely nothing has occurred since to induce them to aban-

don their Union sentiments in favor of civil war. Whether the conflict be long or short, the Union idea will ultimately prevail, and the war instead of destroying the Union will demonstrate its capacity to enforce its laws and maintain the integrity of its domain.

"In your own contests with Scotland, the conditions were quite different, since the incentives to war were questions of border strife in which depredations, cattle stealing and castle burning played a large part. In our case, two little States, South Carolina and Massachusetts, situated many hundred miles apart, have caused all the trouble—Massachusetts having succeeded by fanatical and sectional appeals in making South Carolina believe its vested and legal rights were being interfered with, and South Carolina having allowed its natural resentment to take on a form as unfortunate and unlawful as the provocation. Could these pugnacious little States be removed to the middle of the ocean and left there to fight it out—like the famed Kilkenny cats which fought, we are told, till only their tails were left—the peace, union and safety of our country would be assured, since the great body of the people of the country have no sympathy with the practices or doctrines of either of these extreme schools of thought. The Union is a strong passion as well as a reasoned sentiment; and the life of the nation transcends all discussion of abstract doctrines.

"In our Constitution (probably the most perfect organic law ever devised for the protection of liberty and especially for the protection of the rights of federated States), not one sentence is to be found which could be tortured into giving any State the right to withdraw. A Supreme Court is provided which is adequate to redress legally all grievences of individuals and of States; and even John C. Calhoun, the eminent advocate and interpreter of Southern constitutional rights, always claimed that the only tribunal competent under the Constitution to afford relief against violations of constitutional rights, was that of a national convention representing the sovereign people of the whole country, from whom the Constitution was

originally derived. In his letter to the legislature of South Carolina, he not only cautioned against secession, but said plainly that no nation has ever been ruptured by civil war, though many nations have lost their liberty thereby. State Rights were advocated by this great Southern statesman for the protection *in the Union* of the States against possible party or sectional domination, not in any manner as a lever with which to overthrow the government or as a justification of disloyalty to the Union.

" The right of the people to abolish their form of government, affirmed by our Declaration of Independence, is after all but the right of revolution and in our revolt against the British crown by which our national independence was achieved our justification was primarily the actual and oppressive grievance of taxation without representation so repugnant to every British freeman.

" Scotland, in 1713 (only seven years after the confederation of kingdoms had been accomplished), had become dissatisfied with the form of taxation adopted by the Parliament. The Scottish people clamored for a dissolution of the union. Unlike the Southern Secessionists, however, they did not fall back on the sovereignty of their nation; instead, they urged the unequal and unfair taxation to which they were subjected as a reason for their desire to dissolve the union. Their representative statesmen met and deliberated and sent a conservative committee to lay their grievances before the Queen; and, when the National Parliament assembled, one of the members moved in the House of Lords that leave be given to bring in a bill to dissolve the Union. The bill was discussed, Scotland had a hearing and a vote, and so had England. The vital interests of both sides were considered with a gravity and conservatism which led to mutual concessions, and the British union was saved.

" Now, gentlemen, a similar patriotic course might have been followed in our sectional controversy and, if it had been followed, it would have produced a similar result. Debate brings out truth and exposes the error, selfishness and fraud, which

always lurk in sectional political controversies. So well was it known that Union sentiment prevailed all over the country, even at the South, that the leaders of the Secession agitation discouraged every Northern effort at conciliation and compromise.

" This slaveholders' rebellion has no claim upon the sympathy of the world. The South has no practical grievance to be redressed against the government which was made *perpetual* by the consent of the people. It promises no advantages to international trade by way of compensation for the damage it has already inflicted upon it. Surely the petty and revolutionary republics to the south of us neither favor the spread of civilization nor stimulate commerce. The success of this rebellion would justify the disintegration of the so-called Confederacy itself, and we should have on our continent perpetual civil turmoils like those of South America.

" I will not undervalue the grave nature of the conflict; it is no ninety-day affair as some of our too enthusiastic Federal officials have announced. We are confronted by American soldiers led by officers trained in our own military schools, brave, skillful, and enthusiastic, as members of the Anglo-Saxon race always are; and Secession will be defended with a vigor worthy of a better cause.

" The Secession movement appealed immediately to the young Southerners of military habits and propensities who at once filled the Confederate armies with the best blood of the section. The Southern military leaders are mainly officers who resigned from the Federal army after having received their education at the public expense. In fact, the majority of the pupils in our Military and Naval Schools were Southerners, because our Northern young men preferred professional and business careers to public careers. The early recruits of the Northern army consisted largely of foreigners and the lower class of natives who enlisted chiefly for the wages; and the Northern officers were relatively untrained, with the exception of a few officers of the peace establishment of the regular

army and a few from the uniformed militia regiments of the cities. This mere mob, unenthusiastic and untrained, had against it well-drilled and enthusiastic forces.

"Military movements on the part of the people in the North, as on the part of the National government, were discouraged up to the actual rebel attack on Fort Sumter, which awoke the North. The early defeats at Bull Run and at other places, opened the eyes of the Northern people to the urgent need of a disciplined army. A vigorous prosecution of the war for the Union became the cry of all the parties there and already the Union army is achieving notable success.

"The Confederacy is sadly lacking, as compared with the United States, in the sinews of war (money and credit). It can expect no help from foreign sources by reason of the effective blockade of all its ports, for it is quite improbable that any foreign nation will care to become involved in war with our country by attempting to interfere with local affairs, in which they can have no proper concern. Our armies can be recruited to any extent from foreign sources as well as from our own population; and the latter are now zealous to conquer and restore the Union. The Confederate army, on the other hand, by its very reckless gallantry in the early battles, has in every victory as well as in every defeat sacrificed the best blood of the South. The Southerners who stayed at home in the beginning by reason of age and general incapacity are now being called into the ranks, and it has been well said that to obtain troops the Confederates are robbing the cradle and the grave. This conscription to fill the army, the despotic action necessary to its enforcement, the enormous rise in the price of every necessity of life, the worthless character of Confederate money as a purchasing medium, and the entire paralysis of nearly every kind of business enterprise, are producing widespread discontent among the suffering people who have no slaves. When our forces capture a town or city, they bring relief to the plain people by furnishing lucrative employment. Supplies hitherto shut out flow in from all sides and may be had at reasonable

prices; full and free restoration to the rights of citizenship with no penalty or confiscation of property is granted to all who pledge their allegiance to the Union.

"When the Confederate soldier asks himself, in the light of these generous overtures of our armies, for what he is fighting in the rebel ranks, and for what he is subjecting himself, his wife and his children to a lack of the necessaries of life as well as to the possible loss of their main support, he is at a loss for an answer.

"The liberal and wise policy of our conquering army is developing confidence in the Government of the Union, and is paving the way for the spread of loyal feelings.

"The time is not far distant when the Union flag will again float over the entire country, and the Constitutional rights of all will be secured—on the one hand, against the meddling abolitionists of the North, and, on the other, against the reckless and rebellious slaveholders of the South. This, gentlemen, is the prophecy of a Southern merchant who is a pro-slavery and State Rights man from sentiment and a Union man from conviction. I believe that both slavery and State Rights can and will be preserved only under the Constitution and through the power of our National Union."

This speech evidently produced some uneasiness on the part of a portion of my audience, who called on me the next morning and told me candidly that they were bondholders of the Confederacy, but held cotton as security. I inquired where the cotton was stored. "In Savannah and Charleston," they said, and added, "We have relied on international war usage. Even if these cities are captured, the property of foreigners will be respected." I explained to them that the important defect in their reasoning lay in the fact that the war in America was not a war between nations, but was simply rebellion, and that a lender to the rebels stood in the same relation to the U. S. Government as the rebel borrower. The Government could not, of course, reach and punish the foreign lender for promoting rebellion and bloodshed in America, but

the property pledges would be confiscated like guns or any other instruments of warfare. They then said, "What would you advise us to do?" "Sell out to other sympathisers," I answered, "or run the blockade with your fastest steamers if you can." They left, good naturedly remarking that I was a sort of Job's comforter to them.

In Edinburgh I was the guest of Sir James Simpson (then Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh), who is credited with the discovery of the anæsthetical properties of chloroform; and at a public dinner, which he had the courtesy to offer me, I gave a talk by request on slavery and the issues involved in our Civil War.

During my visit to Sir James I met several men from the University who were largely interested, as was Sir James himself, in archæology, and I accompanied them on a visit to one of the caves in which Scotland abounds. We entered its mouth at the village of Kitcardy by crawling on our hands and knees, and soon found ourselves in a natural arched chamber, about ten feet high. This chamber had a curious ceiling covered with hieroglyphics of scenic character, which these archæological students copied by means of tracings on cotton sheeting held up against the stone ceiling, and which I have since had the pleasure of seeing reproduced in print. I have a particular reverence for this little fishing village of Kitcardy, because it was here that the celebrated Adam Smith wrote his great work on political economy.

Sir James related in my hearing a curious incident which goes to show the danger of empiricism in science. He had, it seems, among his students, a very studious and bright young doctor whom he was in the habit of trusting during his absence from the city to visit such of his patients as had the less dangerous types of disease. On returning (after one of these absences) from Paris, whither he had gone to treat the Empress Eugénie, his assistant resigned his position and established himself as a homeopathic physician in Edinburgh. To make his desertion from the doctrines of the University of Edinburgh and the teachings of his master more offensive,

he wrote a very clever vindication of his new theories in which he recited the cause of his conversion to the doctrines of Hahnemann. He said that while visiting the patients entrusted to his care he determined to apply, with a view to demonstrating the fallacy of homeopathy, the little homeopathic pellets in cases where the trial could not endanger the patient. He found ready to his hand in Sir James' study a little cabinet on the shelves of which were ranged the homeopathic remedies put up in small, neatly labeled vials. To his surprise every remedy he applied effected a cure. Being unable to combat the evidence of his own senses, he was compelled to embrace a system so successful, even if its doctrines did conflict with the science which he had spent so much time and study to acquire.

This put a heavy strain on the friendship and esteem which Sir James had hitherto entertained and expressed for his able pupil, but Sir James was equal to the emergency. He wrote an exhaustive and convincing argument, exposing the fallacy of homeopathy. After praising highly the capacity of the young doctor and the progress he had made in his profession, he declared that he had fallen a victim to an over-hasty investigation. He then explained that he had rendered a surgical service to a cabinet maker's wife, and had declined to accept any compensation from this hard-working mechanic, who had a large family; that the cabinet maker, wishing to show his gratitude, had presented his little son with a handsome small mahogany cabinet of his own make, representing an apothecary's case, with shelves of artistic design, glass doors, and a polished slab of marble to represent a counter; and that to complete the illusion he had stocked the shelves with the usual little vials bearing in gold letters the names of the homeopathic remedies.

This cabinet was set up in Sir James' study to please the boy, who opened, mingled, and dispensed the treasures of his drug shop, as he named it, almost every day. If he was called by his mother to get ready for school or a walk, he was required to fill up the bottles and place them in order on the

shelves again. The boy had amused himself thus for many months, when Sir James was called to visit Paris professionally. Such were the curative mixtures which an honest searcher after professional knowledge found so efficacious that he was persuaded to ignore not only the knowledge he had hitherto acquired himself, but the accumulated knowledge of the medical profession.

The following batch of letters gives a synopsis of feelings and opinions in England in the spring of 1863:

"LONDON, Apr. 10, 1863.

"JOHN A. PARKER, ESQ., New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—I had a confidential interview this morning with our secretary of legation, Mr. Charles L. Wilson, who has given me a letter of introduction to our London Consul, Hon. Furman H. Morse, for a further conference on the subject of the rebel privateers. These gentlemen, with Mr. Dudley, our Consul at Liverpool, and other consuls in the United Kingdom, have been very zealous in ferreting out these privateering expeditions, and our Minister, Mr. Adams, is continually urging the English Government to put a stop to these nefarious practices. I am led to believe that the Government is disposed to be more active than it has been and I have now some hope that the law officers of the Crown will in good faith try to hold the Alexandria, for our proofs will, we think, be very conclusive against her. You will see that the London *Times* and other papers have published detailed accounts of a correspondence by telegraph between Mr. Dudley and Mr. Adams, relative to the steamer Japan. This correspondence is a fabrication from beginning to end. No such communications passed in any form. Our consul at Greenock or Glasgow (or both) fully advised the Legation here, as long ago as January, of the purpose of this vessel, and Mr. Adams had the same information from other sources; but the fact is, legal proofs could not be obtained to justify her seizure, and she suddenly, as I wrote you in my last, got her crew (eighty men from Liverpool) and proceeded to sea.

There was no cutter or other armed vessel sent to intercept the Japan. She simply got her crew and pointed out to sea; and therefore the officials here seemed not to be chargeable with any blunder. They were simply unable to effect a great public good and render an essential service to our commerce, because with the most persevering industry they could not obtain tangible evidence.

"It would be well (as a matter of justice to parties here whose untiring efforts in favor of the national Government ought to be appreciated at home) to give an abstract from the above to the *Post* and the *Journal of Commerce,* so that the contradiction may appear at the same time that the extracts from the fictitious correspondence I have referred to find their way into our journals. It has not been deemed judicious to correct officially these paragraphs here, but no stone is left unturned to ferret out rebel enterprises. The former purser of the Alabama is now here, having taken the oath of allegiance, and is co-operating with the Legation. His testimony, in certain cases soon to be investigated in the Courts, will be most valuable. He is kept in hiding so that his appearance in Court will be the first intimation his old confederates will have that he is to reply to their testimony. Please use this information with great caution, as it would be a serious matter should it reach the Secessionists before the proper time. It is hoped that some of these people, under his testimony, will be liable to a criminal prosecution under the English laws. He has satisfied the Legation that the Florida and the Alabama have agreed to rendezvous at the Western Islands and thence to co-operate against our commerce on the English coast, destroying all our ships bound for English ports, and making a special demonstration against our New York and Philadelphia packets. Mr. Adams has already apprised our government of these things, having been able even to detail the signals agreed upon; the statements of the Alabama's purser have been confirmed to a great extent by information derived from other reliable quarters. . . .

"Very truly,

"Richard Lathers.

"I spent the evening yesterday with Mr. W. H. Aspinwall, and on Monday I have an interview with Mr. Adams, at ten o'clock."

"London, April 15th, 1863.

"John A. Parker, Esq., New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—Mr. Adams, our Minister, called on me yesterday and I regret I was not at the hotel. I afterwards had a long conversation with the Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Dudley, our Consul at Liverpool, on the subject of the armed privateers now being fitted out in England. We are most hopeful of being able to hold the Alexandria, and Mr. Adams informed me a few days since that he thinks the British Government is more disposed to do its duty in this respect than it has hitherto been. I heard him remark that such speeches as General Butler's and many of the radical and abusive editorials of the same kind are embarrassing to all those who are exerting themselves to maintain pleasant relations with Great Britain, and trying to counteract the dangerous machinations of the rebel faction whose sole business here seems to be to get our Government into a foreign war. Besides, negotiations of a delicate nature are never well carried on by a representative of an abusive constituency. Mr. Adams informs me that during his two years' mission he has not once had occasion for the least warmth of temper, nor has Lord John Russell, and yet we know that they have dealt with very trying and delicate questions. The result is that Mr. Adams' discreet, active and judicious defense of our rights is yielding fruit, and has thus far foiled every effort of the Secession. . . .

"Very truly,

"Richard Lathers."

"London, May 5th, 1863.

"J. A. Parker, Esq., New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—I am favored with yours of the 21st, which I have read with great satisfaction. I note your remarks on the subject of our diplomatic relations. You will be glad to learn that they have now assumed more satisfactory shape, and it is

generally conceded that there will be no rupture between the governments. The longer I am in England and the more I mix with the substantial people, the more I am satisfied that the Secession element is losing ground here; their influence is on the wane. I have had the pleasure of meeting a great many of the manufacturers, bankers and merchants in London, Liverpool and the district around Manchester, and I have uniformly found that these gentlemen seem pleased to have any of the Secession arguments proved to be fallacious. The fact is that the Secessionists have been very active, and, as there was no one here to expose their fallacies, they have had much sympathy for wrongs which have never existed, and have laid claims to remedies which our Constitution does not justify. One very intelligent manufacturer of Manchester at a dinner party there, asked me if 'each State had a constitutional right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure with or without cause.' I replied 'Just as much right as Ireland has to withdraw from the United Kingdom.' And I then asked him, for the benefit of the company, whether he thought the Parliament now in session would permit Scotland or Ireland to withdraw from its national connection with England because a religious faith different from that of the majority of the Irish and Scotch people was established by law. 'Slavery and anti-slavery,' I added, 'are not more antagonistic to one another than are the English State Church and Romanism or even Presbyterianism; nor was the Union any more in the way of the peaceful existence of slavery in the South than the national faith of Great Britain is in the way of the dissenting faiths of the other two parts of the United Kingdom.' My interlocutor then urged the non-enforcement of the fugitive slave law by the North. To this I replied that the Government of the Union had never obstructed the policy of the South in this respect, and that the non-enforcement of the law in certain States was due to a local prejudice which time would have removed. I showed by quoting from our census returns that there had been only eight hundred fugitive slaves the past ten years as against eleven hundred the previous ten years, and I explained fur-

ther that the most active secession States had always lost the smallest number of negroes, and had always refused to co-operate with Northern men who were anxious to do away with these inter-State squabbles.

"In all these interviews I have represented to our English friends that the Secessionists are doing their best to create a rupture between the United States and England to serve their own destructive purposes against our Government, and I have expressed a hope that the substantial interests would look with distrust on everyone who took sides against his own government in a foreign land. Englishmen, I have tried to make clear, cannot afford to foster doctrines which are as destructive to their own nationality as they are to ours. I find that the shipments of food have produced a most happy effect on all classes, notwithstanding that the Secessionists attempted to prejudice the people against our offering of good will and mercy. You will see by the papers that Mr. Bright and the working men have called on Mr. Adams, and these ovations will do much to popularize the Union cause. . . .

"I am yours truly,

"RICHARD LATHERS."

"LONDON, May 7th, 1863.

"JOHN A. PARKER, ESQ.

"*Dear Sir:*—I dined last night with Mr. Adams and learned that our relations with England are very satisfactory, and great hopes are entertained that the Alexandria will be convicted.

"The suspicious element, I think, is on the wane here, and a great many of them are hard up for funds. The blockade runners' chase has not been as successful as many suppose, and there are fewer persons disposed to invest capital in them. Still the ravages of the Florida and the Alabama cause a good deal of uneasiness among the American interests here, and underwriters are content to write lightly on war risks around the capes on American property.

"Mr. Aspinwall and Mr. Titus have gone to the Continent. I met Mr. Robert J. Walker at Mr. Adams' dinner a few

days since. He is popular here, and Mr. Evarts' arrival here will be of much value in the Alexandria case. He will be equal to the best of the profession in London and will make his mark before he leaves. Mr. Seward was wise to confide to him this important duty, and we underwriters will be largely gainers if he succeeds in stopping the exit of those vessels. The change of feeling is very great since I have been here on the subject of the Confederate privateers. Everyone, not in the secession interest, is anxious to stop the fitting out of armed vessels, and even the blockade runners cannot easily get insured at any possible rate, whereas they were formerly insured as low as twenty per cent.

"Very truly yours,

"Richard Lathers."

The following letter is an interesting résumé of the state of finance and of politics in New York in the summer of 1863, from one of our most conservative and thoughtful capitalists:

"New York, June 10th, 1863.

"R. Lathers, Esq., London, England.

"*My dear Sir:*—Your kind letter came safely to hand, and I now take a moment to post you in relation to matters on this side of the Atlantic, and wish that I could write something that would point to a bright picture for the country that you and I have so dear at heart; but the truth must be told, and that is very far from being encouraging to a conservative mind.

"The war is still going on, not to restore the Union, but to destroy the South and elevate the negro; not because the party in power love the negro but for the reason that they hate the white man South and are determined to annihilate him lest at some future day they unite with the Democratic party North and thus ignore the party in power. Consequently, the war commenced under the cry of saving the Union when in reality it was for the purpose of extending the principles of the Chicago platform over the South. Under this cry for the Union,

the Democratic party supported the war, and the Administration became more bold and from time to time put forth the real motive, seconded at every step by an Abolition Congress, until we have presented to us the emancipation of the negro. The subjugation or annihilation of the South is accompanied by the confiscation of the property finally to be divided up among the soldiers. Our army burn and destroy as they go; send out armed bands, seize the negro and force him into the ranks to fight and kill his master. We have an account to-day from South Carolina giving a history of a raid made from Hilton Head by the celebrated Montgomery of Kansas notoriety, which is spread on the bulletins in glowing letters as a great feat, in which it is said that one thousand able bodied negroes have been secured for the army, a large quantity of furniture taken from the planters and more than fifty houses burned; and this account has gladdened the faces of our Abolition friends. A fight is going on at Vicksburg and Fort Hudson with great slaughter on both sides; and to-day it is announced that we have lost but one thousand men at Vicksburg, probably enough to satisfy the gnawings of an Abolition stomach. The papers will post you up in regard to the Peace Meeting in our city and the upheaving of the masses in consequence of the orders of Gen. Burnside.

"To quiet public opinion the order for the suppression of a paper in the City of Chicago has been revoked by the President. This seems to have allayed the excitement for the moment, and the trial and sentence of Vallandigham remains in full. The fact appears to have been a feeler, Burnside being used as an instrument, but the threatened uprising of the people rendered it necessary to revoke a part, which has been done. If the people had taken the medicine kindly, the act would have been that of the President, but the rebellious action of the people made Burnside the man.

"The people in New York are more outspoken than formerly, even some begin to doubt the necessity of a war, and openly talk of peace to restore the Union; but, my friend, there is no peace. Restoring the Union is to annihilate the

Republican Party; nor can Unionism and Republicanism exist together; the thing is impossible, consequently the Government goes in for putting down the rebellion and calls upon all loyal men everywhere to support the Government, and you cannot support the Government without supporting their measures; consequently, Democrats support the Government and the Government carries on this fratricidal war, and the one means the other. Under these circumstances it appears to me that Democrats are hypocrites of the deepest dye. They support and condemn the war in the same breath. This is inconsistent and must be repudiated by the people if they ever come to their senses, or if the country is to be saved.

"Our financial position is a strong one. We have added $400,000,000 to our currency and yet money is scarce. At the same time, people are rushing in with their money and taking the Five Twenties at the rate of from one to two millions per day. At the same time, gold is fallen, and confidence in Government securities on the increase. The fall in gold may be partially accounted for by the almost total paralysis existing in business; no merchandise changing hands, and no demand for exchange.

"I believe the directors of the Great Western have responded to all your suggestions relating to a foreign agency. I hope it will work well as it is a child of your own and will be creditable to the author. . . . I suppose you will leave for home shortly after receiving this letter. What may take place in the meantime it is hard to say. The general impression is that Vicksburg will fall, but my mind is slow in arriving at this conclusion. If the Confederates get no reinforcements, it is a question of time only. One thing I have not understood yet and that is what has become of Joe Johnston as he is called; he may turn up very unexpectedly and change the whole programme.

"Hoping you are well and looking forward for your safe return, I am dear sir,

"Very truly yours,

"W. G. Hunt."

On this, my first trip abroad, I found that the German hotels, especially those in the Swiss watering places (such as the Hôtel Baur-Sur-Lac, at Zurich) came nearer to the American standard than those of London or Paris. The Grand Hôtel du Louvre had just been opened in Paris, but it did not afford, although the building was sumptuous and the cuisine excellent, the comforts of the hotels of New York. In London, the hotels were still of the tavern sort, and the better-class English families, while visiting London, went into lodgings; strangers only put up at hotels. I recall Morley's, in Trafalgar Square, a plain, four-story brick building of perhaps forty or fifty feet front, differing from the other buildings in the block only in having a baywindow to light the coffee room, which was all the dining room there was. Here meals were served in the same general manner (but less neatly) as in our New York down-town eating houses. For breakfast, muffins, eggs, and fish, a large piece of cold roast beef, kept on a separate table to be served if called for, tea and coffee. At dinner the same substantial eatables were dispensed by a single waiter; and, at the end of the day, a long itemized bill of the charges for room, service, and food was handed each guest. The entrance hall was filled with trunks and other baggage to relieve the small bedrooms in the upper stories. Persons with families could have a private parlor in which meals were served, but fruit or ices had to be purchased separately. My room was a regular hall bedroom. The bed was a tall old-fashioned affair with a feather mattress resting on cords, and a canopy of calico, and so elevated as to need a stepladder. The washstand was of a three-cornered pattern to save room, and the ewer and basin were cracked. And yet this hotel is still popular for English patronage, and had at that time many country members of Parliament as guests.

It was about this time that the Langham began to be frequented by Americans. It was among the first departures from the old-fashioned inn for which England was celebrated. It was ornate architecturally, and contained spacious and well-

ordered public and private apartments like the American hotels, but was indifferently managed. Having met with an accident, I fell under the professional care of a surgeon who happened to be one of the stockholders of the hotel. This surgeon, who by force of making me daily visits grew to be very friendly, inquired how the Langham ranked in my estimation with the many hotels I had visited during the year. I replied that I regarded it as, perhaps, the best I had seen in Europe, but that it fell far short of first-class hotels in New York; and then I specified its many defects. The surgeon thereupon admitted frankly that their trustees realized that hotel management was an American accomplishment, and asked me if I knew where the Langham could procure a competent manager. I informed him that there was a Mr. Sanderson, then temporarily out of employment, in Europe, who could be obtained if suitable terms were offered him. This brought an investigation of Mr. Sanderson's qualifications and led to his engagement. The example set by the Langham under Mr. Sanderson's management was largely followed in London, with the result that that city now possesses many admirable hostelries.

While on the subject of hotels I will narrate an amusing experience which I had in Paris during one of my subsequent trips abroad. One day, on the Boulevard, I met the *courrier* who had served me on my first visit to Paris. It turned out that he was then in the service of Bishop Bedell, whom I knew well. He told me that the Bishop was stopping at the Hôtel Continental, and would be glad to have me call. When I went to the hotel and asked the clerk to permit me to look over the register he replied in a very brusque, not to say contemptuous, manner, "We don't permit our register to be inspected by every casual caller, but if you think you have a friend here give me his name and I will see."

Now, I have a most unfortunate memory for names—even those of my intimates—and for the moment I could not think of the name Bedell; but not wishing to confirm the suspicions of the clerk in the presence of the American guests whose attention had been attracted by his loud and supercilious tones,

I seized upon the first name that occurred to me and boldly asked for Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois. The title of Bishop commands more respect in European hotels than that of any military title—except that of Field Marshal—and the clerk on hearing it dropped his pomposity instantly, and replied in the blandest manner of which he was capable, "Your distinguished friend Bishop Whitehouse has engaged rooms here for next week by letter." "Are you sure," I remarked with a great show of delight, "that he will actually visit you?" "Quite sure; he is always our guest." "Then," said I, "I shall remain and be overjoyed to meet him again. He has been dead three years, but I have understood that all good Americans return to Paris after their death." The Americans who had witnessed the scene came forward with great glee and to the disgust of the clerk congratulated me on the early return of my friend, the Bishop, to Paris.

On returning to New York from abroad in the fall of 1863, I drafted and secured the signatures of the principal merchants of New York to the following letter to Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy:

"New York, 28th Oct., 1863.

"Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy,

"Washington, D. C.

"*Sir:*—The continued depredations of the rebel cruisers on the mercantile marine of the country have not only destroyed a large amount of the active capital of the merchants, but seriously threatened the very existence of that valuable part of our commerce. Apart from the loss of so much individual wealth, and the destruction of so valuable a source of material power and enterprise, it is humiliating to our pride, as citizens of the first naval power on the earth, that a couple of indifferently equipped rebel cruisers should, for so long a period, threaten our commerce with annihilation. It is a painful source of mortification to every American at home and abroad, that the great highways of our commerce have hitherto been so unprotected by the almost total absence of national armed ves-

sels, as to induce rebel insolence to attack our flag almost at the entrance of our harbors, and to actually blockade our merchantmen at the Cape of Good Hope recently; an account of which you have herewith enclosed, being a copy of a letter recently received from a Captain of one of the blockaded ships, having a valuable cargo. We are conscious that it is no easy matter to capture a couple of cruisers on the boundless waters of the ocean, aided and abetted as they have too often been, at ports where international comity, if not international law, has been set at defiance, and we have witnessed with satisfaction the patriotic zeal and effective energy of your department, and the glorious successes of our navy in subduing the rebellion, which threatened our national union. Still we think that the loyal merchants and ship owners of the country, whose zeal and patriotic co-operation have generously furnished the funds to sustain the government, are entitled to have more energetic protection of their interests than has hitherto been extended to them. Your very arduous official duties have, no doubt, prevented you from investigating the serious inroads which the unprotected state of our carrying trade has produced on our tonnage; and without troubling you with the great loss which our ship owners sustained in the almost total loss of foreign commerce, it is only necessary to call your attention to the enclosed table, prepared and published by one of the best informed commercial journals of this city, showing the loss of the carrying trade on the imports and exports of this city alone, by which you will perceive that, while during the quarter ending 30 June, 1860, we imported and exported over $62,000,000 in American vessels and but $30,000,000 in foreign vessels, we have in the corresponding quarter of this year only $23,000,000 by our own ships, while we have $65,000,000 by foreign vessels. The intermediate periods show a most painful decadence of our shipping interest and tonnage, by transfer and sale to foreign flags, which at this time of considerable commercial activity, does not so much indicate a want of enterprise in this field of occupation, as a want of confidence in the national protection of our flag

on the ocean. The national pride of many of our patriotic ship owners has subjected them to heavy sacrifices in the difference of insurance against capture of two to ten per cent.; while the underwriters of the country have been compelled to make great concessions in favor of American shipping, yet without materially affecting the result. And many of them have encountered heavy losses by captures in quarters where they have had every reason to believe our commerce would be protected by national vessels of efficiency and power. Indeed the almost total absence of efficient naval force in many of the great highways of commerce has had a damaging influence on our prospects by producing a great degree of temerity on the part of the rebel cruisers, and corresponding misgivings on the part of underwriters and others in interest, as to whether government protection would be afforded to our ships laden with valuable cargoes. The want of adequate armed vessels and prominent naval stations for the protection of our ships has become so notorious that underwriters have no longer speculated on the chance of the capture of these rebel cruisers by any of our national ships, but calculate only the chances of escape of our merchantmen, or the possible destruction of the piratical craft from reported unseaworthiness or mutiny.

"These statements are made with all candor, and in no spirit of captiousness, but with a desire to concede that the embarrassment of the department, which it may not be prudent or practical to explain to the public, may fully justify the unfortunate position which the want of naval protection has placed our commerce in. Yet it is respectfully urged that you will give this subject the benefit of the same energy and ability which have so creditably marked the administration of your department in all other channels of your official duties. No one can better comprehend, than one in your position, the value of successful commerce at this time of great national expenditure; and a paralysis of so important an interest cannot be contemplated without horror, at this period of our national struggle.

"We beg leave also to enclose an extract from the *Com-*

merical Advertiser of 26th inst. and request your attention to the paragraph marked.

"We are, Sir, very respectfully

"Your obedient servants,

"(Signed)
"Richard Lathers, President Great Western Ins. Co.
"J. P. Tappan, President Neptune.
"F. S. Lathrop, President Union Mutual.
"M. H. Grinnel, President Sun.
"Robert L. Taylor, Merchant Owner.
"C. H. Marshall, Merchant Owner.
"A. A. Low & Bros., Merchant Owners.
"Grinnel, Minturn & Co., Merchant Ship Owners.
"Wilson G. Hunt, Merchant.
"Charles Newcomb, V. President Mercantile Mutual Ins. Co.
"Brown Bros. & Co., Bankers.
"W. T. Frost, Merchant Ship Owner.
"Rogers & Kneeland, Merchants.
"Duncan Sherman & Co., Bankers.
"Ruchlin & Crane, Merchant Ship Owners.
"E. E. Morgan, Merchant Ship Owner.
"Wm. Whitlock, Jr., Merchant Ship Owner.
"George Opdyke, Mayor New York City.
"August Belmont & Co., Bankers.
"James G. King Sons, Bankers.
"Archibald Gracie, Merchant.
"Howland & Frothingham, Merchant Ship Owners.
"Williams & Guion, Merchant Ship Owners.
"John H. Earle, President N. Y. Mutual Ins. Co.
"Isaac Sherman, Merchant Ship Owner.
"W. A. Sale & Co., Merchant Ship Owners.
"Thomas Dunham, Merchant Ship Owner.
"Spofford, Tileson & Co., Merchant Ship Owners.
"Babcock Bros. & Co., Bankers.
"J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., Merchant Ship Owners.
"E. D. Morgan & Co., U. S. Senator."

To this communication the Secretary sent the following response:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Nov. 14, 1863.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ., Prest. Great Western Insurance Co.,

"J. P. TAPPAN, ESQ., Prest. Neptune Insurance Co., and other merchants and underwriters, New York.

"*Gentlemen:*—The Department duly received your communication of the 28th ultimo, in reference to the depredations committed upon American commerce by the Alabama and other rebel cruisers. The pursuit and capture of these vessels is a matter that the Department has had constantly in view, and swift steamers have been continually in search of them and, at times, very close on to them. They are under orders to follow them wherever they may go.

"The only vessel which had the impudence to attack our flag at the entrance of our harbors, the Tacony, was promptly pursued and her career was soon terminated. The Department had about thirty vessels after her. I thank you for your expression that energy and ability have creditably marked the administration of this Department in all other channels of official duties. A rigid blockade of the coast has been demanded and its accomplishment has required all the available force that the Department could bring to bear. To do this it could not well dispatch a larger force than it has in search of piratical rovers. It will contiue to give this subject its attention and hopes as the avenues to the insurrectionary region are becoming closed and the Navy is enlarging, to be able to have a larger force to pursue the pirates and secure the safety of our commerce abroad.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"GIDEON WELLES,

"Sec'y of the Navy."

On coming from my residence in New Rochelle to the city on May 12, 1864, I found the business district in a state of great

excitement by reason of the appearance in two of the morning papers, the *Journal of Commerce* and the *World,* of a proclamation of President Lincoln announcing very sensational and discouraging military disasters, and calling for an immediate increase of the army by 400,000 men. This proclamation was an ingenious forgery, but it was widely accepted as genuine because of its apparent regularity. That the *Tribune* and *Herald* and other less prominent papers did not publish it was quite easily accounted for by the lateness of the hour (the early morning) when it was received, many of the papers having by that time closed their news columns and begun printing the morning editions for the mails. On reaching my office, I found Captain Charles H. Marshall and Mr. A. A. Low, both earnest Republicans, prominent merchants, officials in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Union Defense Committee, who said to me, " You are so intimate with the *Journal of Commerce,* go down and learn where they got the authority for a government statement withheld from every Republican paper." I had an interview at once with Mr. Stone, who was one of the most conservative and cautious editors in the city. At first he regarded this early publication as an evidence only of the greater activity and enterprise of his night editor. When I suggested that it was very strange that no Republican organ had been favored with so important a piece of news by its own Administration, he seemed to be impressed and sent for the telegraphic dispatch. This dispatch was in all respects—paper, heading, form, etc.,—like former dispatches from the same source. I said, " This looks all right, but the circumstances are so peculiar that I advise you to telegraph to the Secretary of State for his direct authentication." Mr. Stone did this immediately, but, from some cause not creditable to Mr. Seward, he did not receive a reply until the day after the fraud was exposed. I quote further details of this case from Dr. Morgan Dix's biography of his father:

" General Dix immediately commenced an investigation of the fraud, and wrote the same day to the Secretary of War, exonerating the editors of the city newspapers from the

charge of complicity in the affair, assuring the Government that the authors of the crime would probably soon be detected, and promising, in that case, their immediate arrest and punishment. But, unfortunately, the Secretary of War, no doubt under the influence of passionate excitement, obtained an order from the President for the immediate arrest of the editors, proprietors and publishers of the *World* and *Journal of Commerce.* The General commanding the Department obeyed his orders, as a matter of course, though fully aware of the blunder made by his chief; a blunder of which Mr. Stanton became almost immediately sensible, as he countermanded his order on the following day. It is the first duty of the soldier to obey. General Dix had nothing to do but to execute the orders of the President, and no responsibility for them; nor could he have evaded that duty except by resignation of his commission, a step not to be thought of for a moment in time of war and at a most critical period in the history of the country. And yet, because he acted on that occasion as became a soldier, he was made, for a long time afterwards, the mark of invidious criticism, and was compelled to bear the blame of another's rashness."

The evening after the arrests referred to above, I made a social call on General and Mrs. Dix in company with Judge Barbour of the Supreme Court. Mrs. Dix, who was not only a charming woman but wonderfully proficient in public matters, said to the Judge, "Do you approve of the arrest of these two editors by the General?" The Judge, a plain-spoken and candid man, said, "Madame, as a jurist and a Democrat I greatly regret that the obligation of the General, as a soldier, to obey orders has made it necessary for him to do as he has done; and I very much fear that his friends will fail to consider that he was powerless to prevent this high-handed and shocking proceeding. It is a well-established principle that in a free government the military power must not override civil rights in those places where civil tribunals are open." Mrs. Dix immediately replied, "Judge, I agree with you per-

fectly." How far the sound views of this well-informed and prominent Democratic lady influenced the General's correspondence with the Secretary of War on this occasion or strengthened his conservative attitude towards military arrests while commanding in the South, must be left to conjecture. We know that Napoleon and other great captains often profited by the conservative influence of their intelligent wives.

A similar exercise of despotic power, earlier in the war, drove Gerard Hallock from the editorship of the New York *Journal of Commerce*—the method of the Government having been to suppress this paper and then to intimate that the embargo would be raised if Hallock would withdraw.

The victim of these unworthy tactics was among the most distinguished and energetic journalists of New York, and, indeed, of the United States. He began his career in Boston in 1824, and continued it on the New York *Observer* (the conservative Presbyterian organ of the country), which he left to become associated with David Hale in the *Journal of Commerce,* in 1828. He inaugurated the plan of sending out fast-sailing schooners to intercept the packets in order to secure the earliest news from Europe, and of getting the first announcements from Washington by means of relays of horses. His paper was the conservative mercantile and shipping organ of the city, and an advertising medium highly appreciated by the leading produce and shipping firms regardless of their political affiliations.

He was a firm Union man, and wrote and signed the call for the " Pine Street Meeting," and was, up to the time he was deprived of his paper, a liberal contributor in money and influence to every Union movement. Like all conservative Union men, he regarded sectional controversy as disloyal, whether indulged in by Abolitionists at the North or Secessionists at the South. A stern defender of the rights of the South under the Constitution, and as sternly against Secession and the fanaticism to which it led, he neither justified a rupture of the Union by the South nor approved of the war spirit in the North.

GERARD HALLOCK
Reproduced from an old photograph.

He was a sincere friend of the colored race, as was attested by his constant disbursement of money for their needy at the North, and his gifts to the individual freedmen of the South who appealed to him.

He was a fine exemplar of what was best in New England Puritanism, being a devoted Deacon of one of the oldest Congregational churches of Connecticut, and not only a generous supporter of that church, but a liberal dispenser of charity throughout his city. He was one of the founders of the Southern Aid Society when the American Home Missionary Society withdrew its support from slave-holding churches. I insert here a letter sent by Mr. Hallock to his son, William H. Hallock, soon after he was hounded into giving up his editorship. It tells its own story:

"New Haven, Nov. 22nd, 1862.

"To William H. Hallock, Esq.

"*Dear William*:—I am much obliged to my friend, Mr. Lathers, for inviting me to join his circle of Honorables next Monday, but it is out of my line. I would be no good. Having received my walking papers from the highest authority, I consider myself entitled to enjoy the benefit of them. My heart, however, is cordially, warmly, enthusiastically, with all such men as you name, and I now feel great confidence that they will soon triumph in the nation at large (as they have already done in your own and other States) whether you consider the nation as embracing the Southern Confederacy or not. When that point is reached, peace will soon follow. But peace with Bk. Republicans, who in connection with these others, the Abolitionists are responsible for this cruel war, is impossible. When they are out of the way, the South will be prepared to negotiate, I do not say for a return, but I hope so, to the Union on their part; but if, unfortunately, for separation, on terms which would secure to the North some of the advantages of the old Union which has been so wantonly and wickedly destroyed. In the last two days I have been reading Prof. Wm. C. Fowler's book entitled 'Sectional Contro-

versy.' It is an admirable work consisting largely of documentary extracts, many of which, to be sure, have been published in the *J. of Commerce,* chiefly during the year or two previous to my leaving that establishment, but they are now presented in a convenient and accessible form, and show conclusively and in a very quiet way that this war is the culmination of the efforts of the Abolitionists in connection with their aiders and abettors the Blk. Republicans, and that the Ship of State has been drifting directly towards these breakers for the last thirty years. If this book could have been read by the American people generally three years ago, my opinion is that it would have prevented this war, by preventing the election of a President and Congress who have fulfilled the most ardent wishes of the Abolitionists, by arraying the whole power of the North, Democrats and all, ... against the South, nominally for the preservation of the Union, but really for its destruction. I do not mean that the President and Congress, particularly the former, desire the destruction of the Union, but only that this was a very necessary result of the course they pursued. In the meantime, Abolitionism and the Devil are gloating over the mischief they have done and shouting (see *Anti-Slavery Standard* after Lincoln called out his first 75,000 men), 'Glory to God in the Highest!' 'Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord'! That is stand still and see the mighty power of the North exhausted upon the South for the destruction of its whole population and the installation of the blacks in their place. But enough of this. I think I see a gleam of day, but it is still through black clouds of desolation and woe. I thank God I can wash my hands from all participation in the guilt of this war, that is, all voluntary participation, and no other involves moral guilt before God. . . . . .

"Cordially yours,

"FATHER."

All history goes to show that civil contests, even for the vindication of governmental authority, are apt to develop, through

partisan pressure, a total disregard of private rights and of law. Some time before the close of the war a New York paper published a list of 250 cases of illegal arrests of editors and suspensions of their journals by order of Government officials without any authority from any court of record—in direct violation of that clause of the Constitution which says: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, house, papers and effects against unreasonable search and seizure, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause supported upon oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized." Secretary of State Seward is well known to have made this boast to the British Minister, Lord Lyons. "I can touch a bell on my right hand and order the arrest of a citizen of Ohio. I can touch a bell again, and order the imprisonment of a citizen of New York, and no power on earth, except that of the President of the United States, can release them. Can the Queen of England do as much?"

In the spring of 1861 Chief Justice Taney issued a writ of attachment against General Cadwallader for contempt of court in attempting to make an arrest authorized by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which suspension the General claimed to be by the authority of the President. Judge Taney said, in this writ, that the President had no right to suspend the Act or to authorize others to do so; that military officers had no right to make arrests except in aid of judicial authority; that persons so arrested must be delivered to the civil authorities to be dealt with according to law; that the military authority was subordinate to the civil, and under ordinary circumstances it would be the duty of the Marshal to proceed to bring the offending General into court; but, as, in the present case, it would be impossible to do so, he should prepare an opinion and forward it to the President calling upon him to enforce the decision of the Court. The opinion was published all over the country as the law of the land, but, like the clauses of the Constitution on the same subject, was

totally ignored by the Secretary of War: hence the large number of illegal arrests to which I have called attention.

September 6, 1864, I delivered an address before the Mercantile Library Association (of which I had just been elected an honorary member) on the dignity, power, and civilizing efficacy of commerce from the beginning of the exchange of commodities down to the marvelous trade triumphs of Great Britain and our own country. My interest in the work of this library has been constant and my relations thereto rank among the pleasantest of my memories.

CHAPTER VIII

AFTER THE WAR

On coming to the city from my residence at New Rochelle, April 15, 1865, I found the utmost consternation prevailing among all classes owing to the assassination of President Lincoln and the attempt on the life of Secretary of State Seward. The streets were filled with excited crowds. I hastened to the store of A. T. Stewart & Co., to procure bombazine with which to drape my office. Early as it was in the morning, others had been there before me, and the clerks would sell only a limited quantity of bombazine to any one person because the stock was nearly exhausted. Every building in the city was literally covered with this emblem of sorrow.

While superintending the draping of the Great Western building in William Street, I witnessed several violent attacks upon innocent persons whom the exasperated crowd had singled out as Secessionists or sympathizers with the South.

Thus, a most respectable Northern commission merchant, who was honest enough to say that the South should not be held responsible for the acts of madmen and assassins, escaped with his life only by taking refuge in a cellar, whence he was able to get unperceived into a side street. Many Southerners called at the office of the Great Western in the utmost alarm. I advised them to return to their hotels and lock themselves into their rooms for the day. In due time it was ascertained that the crime was that of a madman, and that it evoked no sympathy at the South, where, on the contrary, the deepest regret was expressed for the loss of the President, who had been the friend and protector of that section; and then the crowd abandoned the streets and went quietly to their homes.

A few days later I delivered at New Rochelle an address upon Lincoln in which I reprobated in the strongest terms the deed of the assassin, and praised the admirable qualities of the martyred President.

I also delivered an address on Lincoln at Tammany Hall, New York. In fact, this was my last active connection with Tammany, although I concurred with that organization until it stultified itself by advocating Bryanism.

The Civil War, which commenced with the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12th, 1861, may be said to have been terminated by the review and disbanding of General Sherman's army of 70,000 veterans in Washington, May 24th, 1865, this being the last scene in the last act of the great military drama.

The abolition of slavery, interwoven as this institution was with the daily thought and life of both races, was productive of suffering, at the time, to all classes in the South. This sudden disruption of the accustomed relations, which, after all, had many redeeming qualities, led to a ruinous decline in the value of the land which had been tilled by slave labor; this, too, at a period when personal property and all forms of wealth had suffered from the ravages of war. To aggravate the situation, hordes of corrupt adventurers from the North, who were in some cases felons from Northern prisons, swooped down on these impoverished States. Encouraged and supported by sectional partisans in and out of Congress, and armed with oppressive, unconstitutional laws which elevated the slave above his master and the stranger above the native, they developed a degree of corruption, despotism, and bankruptcy without example in the history of civilization. These despoilers of the land were first called by the observant negroes, "carpet-baggers" from the fact that they came to the South with no other baggage or property than their carpet-bags. "Them buckra with carpet-bags," was the way in which the negroes commonly referred to them.

The supremacy of national authority having been absolutely established, the public mind was divided as to the attitude to be adopted towards the South. Were the Southern States

to be regarded and treated as conquered provinces? That they should be so regarded and treated was the desire of a class of sectional politicans who were given the whip hand in Congress by the unfortunate assassination of the true friend of the South, President Lincoln, whose patriotic affection embraced all sections of our country. There was no warrant, direct or implied, in our Constitution for the destruction or limitation of the equal rights of any State in the Union for any cause whatever, and there was no provision for conquered provinces. The triumph of the arms of the Union was not over States, as Mr. Lincoln remarked, but over rebellious citizens of States. As the Union was indestructible, so, too, the equal rights of the States were indestructible, and could not be impaired either by the actual rebellion of its citizens or by the possibility of future disloyalty. As the crime of rebellion was personal, such rebellion could not justify a violation of the Constitution by the Government in its dealings with the States. The South was in rebellion when it denied the sovereignty of the Union, and organized war against it; the North was likewise in rebellion when it denied the equal rights of the States and obstructed the exercise of them.

The desire of the better elements of the South to accept any terms proposed by the Government was so strong that they readily submitted to even the illegal and degrading conditions imposed by the policy of the party in power in 1867. The substantial industrial and commercial interests were resolved to enjoy the peace and security of civil law, even though they were coupled with the humiliations of negro suffrage and the loss of suffrage by native white citizens. But they were mistaken in their haste for local government under negro rule. It would have been better in every respect for them—and for the whole country—to have been ruled by the intelligent and responsible army officers, then in the South, than to have been robbed and insulted by the negroes and carpet-baggers who were set over them; and it would have been quite as constitutional.

President Lincoln's eloquent appeal to the South, in his

Inaugural on the eve of the war, closed with this fraternal utterance, "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, are the momentous issues of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath in heaven to destroy the government, while I have the most solemn to preserve, protect and defend it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bond of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretch from every battle field and patriotic grave to every heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, and will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of their nature." I envy not the American, South or North, who can read these inspired lines without emotion. Allow me to quote here a paragraph from President Lincoln's Inaugural of 1865, also:—"*With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right,* let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and for his orphan; to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

These two Inaugurals were worthy of the patriot who uttered them. In the first, in 1861, he earnestly counseled, with fatherly solicitude, reflection and moderation on the part of the South before taking the rash step of rebellion, and, in the second, which was virtually the last recorded expression of his wise and broad statesmanship, he counseled the North, with equal fervor, to exercise moderation and to cultivate fraternal feelings towards the vanquished South.

The restoration of the Union was accepted in good faith by the citizens of the South. There was not a single case of opposition to a full exercise of the proper functions of government in any section of the late Confederacy. The soldiers, statesmen, and citizens of both sides mingled and co-operated freely. But the fair promise of these fraternal relations was

blighted by the passage and execution of partisan and sectional measures quite out of harmony with President Lincoln's parting advice. In the admirable "History of the Growth of America," by Professor Henry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago, may be found the following graphic description of the unfortunate period immediately following the War:

"The negroes had not been made free by a wise process of gradual emancipation, as had been done in the Northern States; but ties which bound them to their masters were rudely burst by war and a sweeping constitutional amendment. Thus the mass of negroes, untrained, improvident, ignorant, and shiftless, were suddenly thrown on their own resources. To maintain social order, to prevent lawlessness and crime, to insure against actual starvation and a relapse into barbarism on the part of the negroes—this was no easy task. . . . . The reconstruction of the Southern States under the plan of Congress, meant Negro suffrage. The blacks very generally voted and acted as a mass with the Republican party, as was natural, Their leaders were in general adventurers from the North who saw a chance for prominence in the solid colored vote, though there were some Southern whites, to their disgrace, who acted with them. The negroes found an eager delight in politics, and the reconstructed State legislatures were filled with them."

It was certainly without justification, as it was without precedent, to depress intelligence and elevate ignorance as was done in South Carolina by disfranchising the white property holders—hitherto the governing class—and conferring suffrage on the illiterate negro population; and, as if to degrade as well as to despoil the impoverished white natives, to send into the State, as Federal officeholders, a horde of dishonest adventurers who corrupted the ignorant freedmen, and, with their aid, despoiled the owners of property by every form of official and legislative misrule known to knavery and despotism. If this was, as is alleged, an Administration measure for the protection of the negro on the one hand, and for the punishment of the whites for rebellion on the other, it was a measure

in as clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution as the attempted secession.

The carpet-baggers enriched themselves with the substance of the property owners of both races. Catering to the negroes' love of display, they bestowed upon them nearly all the honorary military and civil offices, but retained practically all the salaried offices for themselves. I cannot recall a single high-salaried office in South Carolina (except, perhaps, the postmastership in Charleston for a short period) which was not filled by a white carpet-bagger.

The South Carolina Legislature was almost entirely composed of negroes and carpet-baggers. The military forces were chiefly officered by negroes, who thus satisfied their passion for fine clothes. The Governor was an illiterate carpet-bagger from Ohio; the Lieutenant-Governor, an uneducated negro wharf laborer whom I had often seen at work upon the Charleston wharves; the Chief Justice of the State Court, an ignorant negro from Pennsylvania; the State Attorney General, the only educated man of the lot, a carpet-bagger from New England. The leader in the Legislature, who was also the commander of the State Militia, was a South Carolina plantation negro. The leader in the Senate, Senator Raney, afterwards a member of Congress, was a Charleston barber of whose services, as well as of those of his father before him, I had often availed myself; he was the only colored man of generally recognized intelligence and integrity connected with the State government, and he was deprived ultimately of both his State senatorship and his place as representative to make room for white carpet-baggers. The Mayor of Charleston was a white carpet-bagger from Maine; the U. S. District Attorney, a white carpet-bagger; and the Judges of the State Court, white carpet-baggers.

The statistics of South Carolina for 1874 show that there were 200 negro Trial Justices who could neither read nor write; and the negro School Commissioners, equally ignorant, were paid $1,000 a year for their services.

Ex-Governor Tillman began his memorable speech before

the Convention of South Carolina, in November, 1895, with a vivid description of the condition of South Carolina when the negro was in power.

In eight years, according to this erratic but truthful authority, the carpet-bag government collected $10,165,114 in taxes; more than $5,000,000 in excess of the expenses of the government. A barroom was opened in the Senate building for State officials, Judges, Senators, Members of the House, lawyers, editors, and citizens generally. The Legislature blossomed out in $600 clerks, $8 cuspidores, $200 crimson plush sofas, sponge mattresses and oriental pillows, $60 plush Gothic chairs, $80 library tables, $30 hat racks, $50 desks, $170 office desks, $100 wardrobes, body brussels carpeting, finest Havana cigars, champagne, $600 mirrors, $600 brocatelle curtains, lambrequins, and $80 walnut and gilt cornices. The cost of printing during the eight years of negro rule was $717,589—more than the printing bills of the State for seventy-eight years previous. Fraud reigned supreme, checks were altered, bonds issued illegally, the honor and credit of the State dragged in the dust.

"Why," cried Tillman, "there are South Carolina bonds quoted in the stock lists of New York at one cent on the dollar, to the shame of this Commonwealth. That was one result of negro domination. I went with the State Treasurer to New York two years ago in the hope of floating our securities, and we were dogged by the agents of Henry Clews, who said: 'Pay these bonds that bear the seal of your State or you can have no recognition in our money markets.'

"The negroes were the tools, the acknowledged tools, participators, the willing tools. The poor, ignorant cotton-field hands blindly followed like sheep wherever the white and black leaders told them to go, and voted unanimously every time for the Republican ticket; and these results were achieved solely and wholly by reason of the ballot in the hands of such cattle."

It is only fair to admit, however, that the exclusion of white natives from the Legislature was due in part to the unwise

neglect of the reputable white element to use its influence. I have always believed that the more conservative negroes would have favored this element if their old masters had recognized and co-operated with them at the first.

There were scallawag natives, to be sure, who were, if possible, more corrupt than the strangers—notably Governor Franklin J. Moses, who fled the Executive Mansion at Columbia and landed eventually in a Northern state prison; and there were among the so-called carpet-baggers honest, capable, and enterprising men who were not accorded by the natives the sympathy and support they deserved.

In Charleston I became acquainted with a carpet-bagger from Ohio, "General Scott," as he was called, who held the office of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. He performed the duties of his office with ability and firmness. And it is simple justice to remark that had the administration of Mr. Scott as Governor of the State, and that of his intelligent and conservative successor, Chamberlain of Massachusetts, received the support of the conservative white citizens instead of being visited with constant abuse by them, much might have been done for the property holders. No allowance was made for the relations of these officials to their party, and in many cases when they openly antagonized their party their hands were not strengthened. It must not be forgotten that Ex-Governor Chamberlain, as an active member of the Tax-payers' Convention, made an able speech for reform, and that Governor Scott expressed active sympathy with this Convention.

The fact that I aided Governor Scott in raising funds in New York to enable him to meet the expenses of the State government till money could be raised by taxation, brought me into a degree of business intimacy with him which had to be suspended later, as he came under party control and the legislative frauds began to develop. It is my opinion, however, that Scott was a mere tool, and reaped but little if any benefit from the frauds with which he became more or less entangled.

On one occasion, while I was in Columbia, he requested me to accompany him to the Assembly Chamber, where, in a com-

mittee room, I was introduced to a large number of the Assembly members and political leaders, who were drinking whisky from a large keg, the faucet of which was kept open as long as we remained, since visitors were constantly coming and going.

The morning fixed for the adjournment of one of the South Carolina assemblies (that of 1873, I think), a member moved that the House adjourn for three hours to witness a race between the horses of the white Speaker, Moses, and the colored leader, Whippen. It was arranged, the maker of the motion said, that carriages should convey members to and from the race course promptly, and the business of the day would suffer but little by the two or three hours' interruption. On the return of the Assemblymen from the races, the business of the House, which consisted chiefly of resolutions of thanks to committees and chairmen of committees, was quickly dispatched. Mr. Whippen, whose horse had won the race over that the speaker, moved that a $6000 gratuity be given to the Speaker for his arduous labors during the session. The motion was unanimously carried, and Moses turned the money over to Whippen in payment of the racing debt he had just contracted.

It must not be lost sight of that the defeated Secessionists were of Revolutionary stock, and while they deserved and, indeed, received ample correction for their disloyalty to the National Government, the infliction upon them of an ignorant and corrupt negro and carpet-bag government was unworthy of modern civilization, and has brought down on the parties responsible therefor the indignation of every genuine lover of civil liberty.

The irregularities and violence of this period at the South, which have been very much exaggerated for partisan purposes, were largely the outcome of indignant opposition to carpet-bag and negro misrule, and were never directed against the laws or the officials of the United States. They were the inevitable result of the partisan attempt to set aside the American right of local self-government by the introduction of corrupt

adventurers from abroad. It is an interesting fact that as soon as the people of the Southern States were permitted to govern themselves, perfect peace was at once restored and submission to law became there a matter of pride.

In the years immediately succeeding the Civil War I received from my impoverished Southern acquaintances numerous appeals for help, a few of which I present herewith because they depict, better than pages of description could, the deplorable conditions for which that conflict was directly or indirectly responsible, and give an admirable idea of the courage with which these conditions were met:

"GEORGETOWN, March 23, 1865.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ.

"*My Dear Sir:*—You are doubtless aware that this place has been occupied by the United States' forces for some weeks. Several families remain here, mine among the rest. We have been treated kindly. The negroes (now liberated) remain for the most part on the plantations; but whether or not a crop will be made, is a question yet to be determined. If not, the consequences will be appalling. Having been shut out from the rest of the world for four years, we are (I speak more particularly of myself, but have not a doubt that my brother rebels are all in the same predicament), destitute of almost everything—sugar, tea and coffee are among the luxuries that were. Our condition is not likely to improve very soon, and if the war continues much longer, must become worse.

"In such an exigency, I have on reflection and from my knowledge of your kindness and liberality, determined to apply to you for aid. The only security I can give you is my character. Your knowledge of this, will, I trust, be a sufficient guarantee for any advance you may determine to make for me. I have hurriedly prepared a list of such things as we require, including medicines, and shall inclose it with this to you. In addition, I will also want some money (one or two hundred dollars). We have now to hire our servants and I have no greenbacks, and with things in their present chaotic

condition, cannot make any. Mr. Fraser wrote to Dolner & Potter on the same business as I now write to you about, and should you accede to my earnest request, perhaps you had best confer with them as to the manner of having the goods brought here. Pray write to me at your earliest convenience.

"Very respectfully and truly yours,

"_____ _____."

"Two calico and one gingham dress for Mrs. ——, light mourning—the same for each of my two daughters, grave colors—two dozen pairs of ladies' stockings—two dozen cheap linen cambric handks.—two pieces cotton shirting—twenty yards white flannel—six pair thicksoled serviceable ladies' shoes, No. 3½—three pairs of the same No. 4—two pairs shoes for myself, No. 6½—three papers large and three of small pins—four papers 7, 8 & 9 needles—6 dozen hooks and eyes—1 bar Castile soap—a dozen assorted spool cotton—1 ounce black sewing silk—1 dozen pieces tape—three pair of scissors—three hair-brushes and four combs—six tooth-brushes—three silver thimbles No. 7—one large umbrella.

"Groceries; one barrel wheat flour—one do. potatoes—one barrel of beef—one do. of pork—five hundred pounds of bacon, ham and sides—two hundred pounds of sugar (clarified)—one hundred pounds Java coffee—six pounds best Hyson tea—five gallons brandy—five gallons whisky—five gallons brown sherry wine—one firkin of best butter—100 lbs. lard—black pepper 2 lbs., allspice 2 lbs.—nutmegs ½ lb.—one box adamantine candles or sperm.

"1 piece cheap calico for servants.

"*List of Medicines.*

Quinine, ounces	4	Es. of Peppermint, ounces	6
Gum Opium, ounces	2	Paregoric, ounces	12
Pulv. Opium, ounces	2	Laudanum, ounces	6
Hippo, ounces	2	Chloroform, ounces	12
Pulv. Rhubard, ounces	2	Hartshorn, ounces	12
Calomel, ounces	2	Dover's Powders, ounces	2
Blue Mass, ounces	4	Camp. Dov. Powder, ounces	2

Epsom Salts, pounds	2	Morphine, drachms	3
Rochelle Salts, pounds	1	Citrate of Iron, ounces	1
Gum Arabic, pounds	2	Gum Camphor, ounces	12
Citrate of Potash, pounds	¼	Tinct. Veratrum Viride, ounces	2
Carb. of Potash (Salts of Tartar), pounds	¼	Tinct. of Aconite, ounces	2
Citric Acid, pounds	½	Syrup of Hippo, ounces	4
Soda (Carbonate), pounds	1	Hive Syrup, ounces	2
Castor Oil, bottles	2	Magnesia (Henry's calcined), phials	4
Sweet Oil, bottles	3	Cream of Tartar, lbs.	1
Mustard, lbs.	2	Ginger, lbs.	1
Blister plaster, lbs.	½	Es. Jamaica Ginger, bot.	6
Nitrate of Silver, drachms	2		

"GEORGETOWN, March 29, 1865.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ.

"*My Dear Sir:*—I took the liberty of addressing a letter to you a few days ago, and I believe it has been forwarded, perhaps received. My object in writing was to ask for what I have never asked before—pecuniary aid. I mentioned in that letter that the only security I could give for the return of what you may be disposed to advance, was my character. This War luckily found me out of debt. All property in slaves is valueless (I write now as if the War was at an end, for I must believe it very soon will be, and that we of the South have been fairly whipped). What remains of my estate will be real estate, bank stocks & individual securities—all once good, some, now probably, good for nothing. There is no doubt that all will be much depreciated in value and wholly unavailable for some time to come, as a source of revenue. To the above may be added my profession once lucrative, but now yielding no return. I think it proper to make the above statement. In this emergency, I was forced to look around and determine what course to pursue to avert actual starvation. No more probable mode of temporary relief presented itself to my mind, than an application to you such as I have already made. I asked for a loan sufficient to supply a limited amount of food,

clothing, medicine and groceries—together with a few hundred dollars in money. I named one or two hundred dollars, but it should have been on further reflection, four or five hundred. A memorandum of what was immediately wanted was enclosed. The liquors should have been placed under the head of medicines, for it is for this purpose they are principally wanted. I lost a patient a few weeks ago, a lady of high position and one whom you once knew, for the want of stimulants. I believe that a bottle of brandy would have saved her life. I did not of course expect you, occupied as you are, to attend personally to the details of my letter—this could be accomplished by the instrumentality of others—and I beg that you will not consider me so unwise or inconsiderate, as to attempt thus to impose on you. I mentioned also in the letter alluded to, that Mr. Fraser had written to Dolner, Potter & Co., on pretty much the same business as I had to you, and advised in the event of your complying with my wishes, that you would consult with them as to the procuring a permit and safe conveyance to this place, not yet declared a port of entry. The Government would hardly condemn us to a lingering death by starvation; our only supply must be from abroad. Your known kindness and liberality, your ample means, your knowledge of myself, our former friendly intercourse and personal regard for each other (for allow me to say, and I do so with the utmost sincerity, that among the names associated with some of my most pleasant reminiscences of the past, is the name of Richard Lathers), all of these considerations seem to justify me in thus calling upon you.

"I could fill a sheet or more with details of the situation of affairs here and in the neighborhood, all of which would be interesting to you, acquainted as you are with everything and everybody here, but I suppose it would not be proper for me to do so. Suffice it to say that we have felt this war in all its horrors. What further suffering yet awaits us, the All-wise God alone knows. Perhaps (and there are grave reasons for the thought) the scenes of St. Domingo may be re-enacted here. As to the destruction of life, you may judge of the extent of

this by one fact which I may be allowed to relate. The Georgetown Rifle Guards numbered at the time they left home for the seat of war in the west, one hundred twenty-five or six men. Of this company (company A, 10th regiment) there are not ten survivors fit for duty; the rest were killed in battle or died in the hospitals or have been maimed. This company was composed in large part of young men from this place. We had also a large representation in Virginia, most of whom have fallen. Death has also been busy among those who did not participate in the strife. Many of our former friends have found a quiet resting-place in the grave, since the War began. I will soon follow them.

"Excuse my trespassing so long on your time. I shall await with considerable anxiety your reply to this. Does our former friend, Mr. Joseph Thurston, still survive? Should he still be among the living, when you see him, remember me very kindly to him.

"I am my dear Sir,

"Very respectfully and truly Yours,

"_____ _____."

The writer of the above two letters was my family physician. He was not only distinguished in his profession, but was a social leader as well, and dispensed a lavish hospitality. Most of his inherited property was swept away by the ravages of war and the emancipation of his slaves. But he weathered the storm better than most of the Southern gentlemen because he had a large medical practice to fall back upon, which stood him in good stead in the long run.

"CHARLESTON, 7 June, 1865.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS, New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—I received your very kind message through my friend, J. S. Gibbs, Esq. I need not say I thank you for the invitation to my daughters, but we are compelled to decline it as ready money is entirely out of the question with us. They are and have been living, through the War, at our plantation. Our city residence was destroyed early in the War. I have

been a good deal robbed by Confederate and United States forces, still I have, I hope, enough left to live. At present our serious difficulty is in the fact of the total destruction by Gen. Sherman of all means of transportation. He destroyed all rail-roads and took all my horses, so that cotton, which is all that is left on which to raise money, is unavailable. I am here trying to start our Bank again. Our assets consist almost entirely of Rail-road Bonds and State Stocks, etc. Never having any confidence in Confederate I kept as clear as I could of it; still we shall lose largely, for do what you would it resulted in Confederate money.

"How and where is our friend, Thurston? I heard from him but once during the War. He was then in Dublin, Ireland, and in bad health. I had anticipated his wishes and employed Mitchell & Whaley to defend his property. It was saved from confiscation and stands about as when he left, except some of the Parties are badly crippled by War. I enclose him and his family my kindest regards. I have some idea of starting a National Bank. What do you think of it as a system? I can see fair profits in it if your public debt will ever be paid. Will not repudiation find many advocates, North and South? I would like your views on this matter as I have lost enough without adding to my losses by injudicious investments. If I start it and you and Mr. Thurston are able, I would like to have you take some stock as money is very scarce with me, and I shall not be able to go as strong as I could wish into it without temporary aid from my friends in getting started. I don't know but I may come on in Aug. or Sept. for a few days, but this depends as yet on too much uncertainty for me to say I will see you personally.

"Mr. Jas. S. Gibbs, who will be one of the Directors, if I undertake it, has written Messrs. Duncan, Sherman & Co. about it. I have been making nothing for 4 years and want just for the novelty of the matter to try and make something.

"Present me most kindly to Mrs. Lathers.

"Very truly yours,

"D. L. McKay."

"CHARLESTON, 8 July, 1865.

"COL. RICHARD LATHERS, New York.

"*My Dear Sir*:—I thank you most sincerely for your kindness in allowing me to draw as I may need to the extent of $3000. I hope to be able to get along without being troublesome to my friends. If I can get my Mississippi cotton to market (I own 100 Bales) I shall be independent. If I can't do this, I shall use your kind offer, but shall not do so till I see you unless some very unforeseen event occurs.

"When you write Mr. Thurston tell him his property stands very much as when he left. I collected only his dividends and paid his taxes. I refused to receive any bonds or interest on bonds. I had a hard contest to keep his property from confiscation. Employed Mitchell & Whaley. Mitchell is since dead. Whaley I suppose you have seen, as he told me he would go to New York on his way home from Washington.

"President Johnson will be popular at the South I think. The appointment of Collector here was very unfortunate. He is either a very much slandered man or it would be very difficult to find anyone of less character in the city who makes any claim to respectability. I never saw or heard of him till he was feasted in your city. His speech on that occasion was a slander on Charleston. You know I always express my opinions with freedom and, being opposed to the whole Secession business, I would be as apt to have known it as anyone in the city if any abridgment of the freedom of speech had occurred.

"The destruction of property in this State by Gen. Sherman would have disgraced the leader of the worst vandals of Ancient Rome. In Columbia alone, 1400 families had not only their houses burned, but all furniture and provisions wantonly destroyed. His track through the State will be easily traced for years to come and when History comes to do its duty, he will be branded with that infamy which the greatest rabble of modern times justly merits.

"Yours very truly,

"D. L. McKAY."

The writer of the above letters was one of my early benefactors, and has been referred to a number of times in these "Reminiscences."

"CHARLESTON, 13th January, 1866.

"*My Dear Sir:*—The war being over we of the South have gone to work to attempt to rebuild our ruined fortunes. If I know the people of our State the Union is restored in spite of the speeches of the Abolition leaders. Our people have accepted, and honestly accepted the result of the war. It would be false to say that we would not have wished that the decision of arms had been otherwise, but we accept it as it is, feeling assured that both sections were perfectly honest. I for one am disposed to believe that the real question at issue was State Rights vs. Centralization, and the result of the war was apparently the destruction of State Rights, but as I learn from my reading of history that the middle ground is always the correct position and that all great political and civil contests eventually end in compromise, I am disposed to believe that the true result of the bitter contest through which we have passed may be a government more perfect than the one which we formerly had, a government embracing all that is good and leaving out all that is evil in the principles of both Northern and Southern statesmen, a government which eventually may embrace within its limits every part of the continent of North America.

"I have opened my office in Charleston and send you my card, feeling assured that you will for auld lang syne do anything in your power to serve a native of your native district, old Georgetown. At any time that you may have leisure I would be pleased to hear from you.

"Very truly and respectfully yours,

"J. BARRETT COHEN."

[A leading member of the Charleston bar.]

"CHARLESTON, June 9, 1865.

"MR. RICHARD LATHERS, New York.

"*Dear Sir:*—While the sword was drawn, I wrote you and proved that even war had not obliterated the memory of the past. I feel grateful to you for the kindness you extended to my boy when a prisoner and thank you for it. I acknowledge the debt of $25 and, when I can, I will pay it with interest. In the meanwhile, we are utterly ruined and penniless and I must beg you to wait until we can in some wise recover. I rest upon the kindness shown to venture a letter to you now. I wish to ask that you will write me a full state of things with regard to us, for information is scarce. What is the design and temper of the Northern people—for that is the power behind the throne? Is it the utter destruction of this people and country? Do they wish to push us out of the land or to drive us to desperation? Will the freedom of the world be thus advanced? Will the prosperity of a nation be advanced by such a determination? We will not speak of the past or its issues. God has permitted the cause to go against us. While it must be admitted we struggled hard, fought well, endured privations which never can be known, yet we are, as a people, willing to accept. Not as if we lived in the time of Dionysius of Syracuse, but in the nineteenth century, we would cheerfully throw ourselves into the new order of things and co-operate to bring order out of chaos. You know I have an extensive acquaintance and some little influence. I have traveled this State over, every part of it, in the last three months, and unless our total subjugation and ruin is the policy, if there is any purpose of recognizing us as free white men I think I have declared the temper of us all. All your old friends are utterly ruined. Those who invested in lands, the charity which does not exceed over $20,000 leaves them out; those, in negroes, they are gone; those in Confederate securities, of course are worthless; those who bought gold and put it away, almost without exception it was forced from them; if the negroes did not betray it, parties were hung and beat and every indignity and outrage perpetrated and all taken.

My home in Charleston was literally gutted—not a thing left in it. I wish you would come on here for auld lang syne sake, just to see the state of things. Your heart would bleed for us. Negroes garrison everywhere, and the swagger and insolence of temporary and unaccustomed power is borne. But, my friend, put yourself in the same conditions. The Southern negroes are far worse than those from the North. All appointments of employment for our young men are refused; and it is not the past but the present and the future. And, my friend, if overpowered, we are still near eight millions of what were once free white men, if a negro's word, for the time, is as good or better than any. You have read history; you know human nature. I dread under present aspects the hour when the heart can stand no more, and the pent-up feelings result in a hopeless but a fearful holocaust of blood. Cannot the North afford to be magnanimous? Few governments have had a harder struggle to maintain its sway, and none have shown as gigantic power. Will it add to the happiness or welfare of you all that we perish? In one point of view the North should be grateful to the South for the opportunity afforded by our fruitless revolution to show the resources and power of the country—and the two countries. The power and magnificence is almost fearful to contemplate. We are now subjected to all the petty tyranny of small men who come after success in battle and we are trying to be patient. We can bear these things for a while, if we can see hope beyond in the Government. You will excuse the frankness of this letter, but you know I love my people. I love the human race; my life is dedicated to do good, and I wish to be able to cheer hearts which are full of woe and well-nigh broken. My Sunday-school room has been taken from me by Redpath and made a negro school of. My church I have not yet gotten, but expect to-day to have permission to open it.

"My oldest, bright-eyed, beautiful first-born was taken last October in his eleventh year by yellow fever. My utter poverty, all the indignities I have been subjected to, are nothing to this

one heart sorrow; it has bowed me to the earth. I trust it has brought me nearer to the Cross. My kind regards to your family, to Dr. Taylor if you ever see him, and believe me still the same.

"Your friend,

"A. Toomer Porter.

"P. S.—The planters in Cooper River have all made contracts with the negroes; so far the result is that they work just when they please and seed will not be made in the wide district."

"Charleston, June 18th, 1865.

"Col. Richard Lathers, New York.

"*Dear Sir*:—I hope you received my last. Living here is almost unbearable. We are under the rule of a miserable set of petty tyrants whose reign disgraces the age and any nation. Mr. Trenholm was brought to Charleston from Columbia under arrest, sent to the common jail under a negro guard like a felon, given prison fare and put on a miserable bundle of straw brought from a hospital, all intercourse and even pen and ink denied him. We at length succeeded in getting to him and have made him more comfortable and he was taken on Saturday to Fort Pulaski. It is a huge mistake. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. No man from his influence and ability could do more than he to bring order out of chaos—that is, if that is the wish of the government. I know he is ready to take the oath of allegiance, to lend all his aid to carry out the policy of these disjointed times. This sudden emancipation is the ruin of the country, and the negroes they are dying at a fearful rate. For heaven's sake do all you can for Mr. Trenholm! The negro troops down here prevent all order or system with the negroes, besides the painful humiliation to us. This I presume is intended. But is it magnanimous? Is it generous? Is it sound policy? If the United States must be disgraced by having them in its army why are they not sent to the frontiers? Depend upon it no good will result in keeping them here much longer. Can nothing be

done to get them away? Our people are willing to conform to the government, but the present policy only makes hatred rankle, if silent, in the heart. I write to you freely. . . .

"I am very truly yours,

"A. Toomer Porter."

These last two letters came from one of the most energetic of the clergymen of the South, who has been since the War the most earnest and effective reconstructive force in the State of South Carolina. Dr. Porter was a native of my own town of Georgetown, and deserves to rank with Dr. Thomas House Taylor, another native of that place, for usefulness in his church. Shortly after the war he paid me a visit at my New Rochelle residence and desired an opportunity to preach in Trinity Church where I was a warden. Notice was given that a clergyman from South Carolina would preach and solicit contributions to a fund to restore the library of the Diocese of that State, which had been destroyed during the war.

Dr. Porter was very tall and thin, and even a little cadaverous from the hardships of the campaigns in which he had served as the Chaplain of a Confederate regiment, and his figure presented a most striking aspect when he rose in his pulpit. He looked all around the church with great deliberation, as if to make the acquaintance of every one of the congregation, while he announced his text, "I am Joseph, your brother"; after which he paused long enough for his audience to recognize properly their kinsman from the South, who had come back to the Union household. He began his sermon by giving a graphic account of the Biblical story of Joseph, and applied it to the returning South. He said that the South, being a favorite in the Union—as Joseph was with his father—no doubt took on airs which quite naturally proved offensive. Yet God preserved Joseph with all his sins; and, as Joseph lived to comfort his father in his old age, and to co-operate with his brethren for the family interest, so the South would come, he believed, to take its proper place in the great family of the Union. He laid before the congregation

the loss of the Diocesan Library, and told how, many years before the War, the South Carolina Diocese had contributed largely for just such a brotherly purpose to a Northern diocese.

The result of this appeal was the largest collection I had ever known to be taken up for any purpose in Trinity parish.

Dr. Porter's now celebrated educational institution in Charleston was due primarily to the generosity of a Northerner, John C. Hoadley of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hoadley was a friend and associate of Charles Sumner in the political struggles preceding the war, and, like Charles Sumner, became, after the war, a zealous advocate of the rights of the South in opposition to carpet-bag domination and in opposition to the desecration of the national flag by recording in its folds the defeats of Americans. He was an enthusiastic mechanical engineer, and was one of the promoters and an original trustee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After serving as Superintendent of the celebrated Lawrence Machine Shop and other enterprises for many years —during which he was the sole support of his mother and six sisters—he invented an economical engine adapted to plantation use, for which he found a large and profitable market at the South. The breaking out of the Civil War deprived him not only of this source of income, but utterly destroyed the possibility of collecting the proceeds of the sales already effected there. In this exigency he wrote to me asking me to aid him by finding purchasers among my returning Southern friends for his checks on certain banks against collections they had made on his account. I was unable to find purchasers for his Southern exchange, because persons returning to the South had barely money enough to pay the expenses of their return. After the War, however, I succeeded, while on a visit to Charleston, in collecting for Mr. Hoadley from the banks a modest sum—three or four thousand dollars, I think. When I apprised Mr. Hoadley of this success, he immediately wrote me: "A thousand thanks for your good offices. 'One good turn deserves another.' I presume that your churches have lost all their bells. Do me the favor of selecting the most

needy and present to it in your *own name* this money, which I think will purchase a good bell—to give Charleston again the cheering sound of a call to worship, so long hushed by the devastations of war."

I immediately called on my friend, Dr. Porter, and offered to purchase a bell for his church. He earnestly requested me to give him the money towards establishing an academy for young men without means whom he desired to educate for future usefulness. I at once agreed to make the suggestion to Mr. Hoadley, provided that the Doctor would get up a subscription trust fund of not less than $10,000, to which I would subscribe myself, and provided that the fund should be called the *Hoadley Education Fund* in honor of this wonderfully unselfish offer to aid the people of Charleston by a Yankee Abolitionist who had not a single acquaintance there—all of which was agreed to by Mr. Hoadley. Several possible subscribers, however, objected to having a Yankee name attached to the enterprise. Of course, this ridiculous illiberality greatly shocked me, and I promptly declined to donate Mr. Hoadley's money or my own on any other terms than those I had named. Thereupon, Dr. Porter, who was an able negotiator, wrote directly to Mr. Hoadley asking him to waive my proposition in obedience to the prejudices of the times, and the latter—generous and modest gentleman that he was!—wrote me at once asking me to relent in consideration of the poverty of the Southern people, and the importance of providing for their education even against their prejudices.

Of course, nothing was left for me to do but to turn over the money.

Mr. Hoadley never recovered from the misfortunes of the war, and his liberality to every religious and educational charity was so great that it came very near impoverishing him in the end.

The year 1867 developed a peculiar phase of military rule in the State of Alabama, not unlike that which attended the Cromwell revolution in England; namely, an attempt to subject the Church to political control by regulating its prayers.

The military commander of the Alabama district issued an order requiring the clergy of the Episcopal Church to use the Prayer for Rulers, which reads, "We most heartily beseech Thee with Thy favor to behold and bless Thy servant the President of the United States and all others in authority, grant them in health and prosperity long to live, and, finally, after this life to attain everlasting joy and felicity." Bishop Wilmer, not wishing to see the members of his Diocese guilty of so base and hypocritical an action as praying for the long life and happiness and the future glorification of the flagrant despotism by which they were oppressed, issued a Pastoral Letter to his clergy in which he declared the prayer for all those in authority was out of place and utterly incongruous, and that, while they should be ready to pray for rulers generally, the particular form of the Prayer Book invocation rendered it impossible for them to use it, under the circumstances in which they were placed, without the baldest hypocrisy.

The Bishop, on being called to account for this letter by the military commander, told him frankly that he could not pray for the prosperity of a Government which deprived him of his rights as an American freeman, and could not invoke the blessings of long life in this world and felicity in the next upon the tyrannical and barbarous black rulers who had been imposed upon his State by a partisan and sectional Congress.

The officer then said: "When do you think you will use the Prayer Book prayer for the President and all others in authority?"

The Bishop promptly answered: "When you all get away from here. This prayer was for a government of the people's choice and affection. . . . The fact is that the government as at present administered is one for which I desire *the least length of life* and *the least prosperity* that is consistent with the providential will of God.

"Suppose," the Bishop continued, "our positions reversed. Suppose that we had conquered you, and that, amid all your destitution, sadness, and humiliation, an officer had commanded you to fall down upon your knees and ask God to grant long

life, health, and prosperity to our Government? Would you do it?"

The officer quickly replied in language which, if rather profane, was honest and instinct with the spirit of an American freeman, "I'd be damned to hell if I would!"

The Bishop retorted: "I am not disposed to use your phraseology. But if I do this thing you order me to do—addressing the Almighty with my lips when my heart is not in my prayer—I run great danger of meeting the doom you have hypothetically invoked upon your own head."

This terminated the interview.

In a few days an order was issued shutting up the churches, and suspending Bishop Wilmer from his functions.

One of the Bishop's clergymen, inspired either by fear or an honest desire to compromise, procured a license to open his church by promising to use the prayer under discussion. He attempted to placate the Bishop by explaining to him that he used the prayer under the clearest and firmest protest he could make openly, and asked him for his official opinion of this course. The Bishop said: "My dear brother, I am quite unable to inform you what God will think of a prayer made under protest, or how far the great Provider of good will be influenced by a petition which your open protest shows you did not wish granted."

During this troubled period I was privileged to be able to secure the release of the Winyah Indigo Society (Georgetown) by intercession with Gen. Sickles—one of many considerate acts on the part of this chivalrous officer—and to help to re-establish public worship in various parts of the South by making or obtaining loans which made it possible to repair and reopen a number of church buildings.

A great number of prominent Southerners visited New York after the close of the War. Among these were some old Unionists who had fallen victims to the craze of State Sovereignty, while disliking Secession, and who were not sorry to hail the "Lost Cause" as lost—my old and valued South Carolina friend, William Gilmore Simms, for instance, one of

the most distinguished literary men of the South. I had the pleasure of entertaining Mr. Simms at a dinner at which the Mayor of New York, the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, members of Congress, and prominent editors were present. In his speech at the table, he gave quotations in a playful manner from the abusive editorials in the Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans journals, upon his host's course in co-operating so actively with the war element at the North, and said that the Northern papers, especially the *Tribune*, afforded the Secession element great satisfaction by copying the Southern opinions of his conduct and supplementing them by a plentiful supply of abuse of their own, full of accusations of disloyalty to the Union because of his imprudent political speeches, notably one before the Chamber of Commerce in opposition to an unwise and useless proposal to tax cotton, rice, and tobacco.

"Taking note," said Mr. Simms, "of this honest but indiscreet political course of my valued friend, by which he lost the confidence of the radical element in both sections of the country, I was desirous of learning how he stood with the authorities in Washington, and how he managed to avoid a trip to Fort Lafayette, where so many outspoken Union men had been sent for their indiscretion. I found, on conversing with leading Republicans at the Capital, many of them officials, that our host was under the surveillance of the Government police in New York during the whole time; but that while outspoken, even against the Government, in his public speeches, he always sustained the War, and while the Government received many complaints against his loyalty, they never could find anything tangible against him. But my visit to his library to-day opened my eyes to his means of security against arrest. On opening a handsomely bound volume containing the voluminous diplomatic correspondence of Secretary William H. Seward, of the State Department, with our representatives abroad and with foreign governments, up to and including 1863, I found that it was a presentation copy, and on the title page was written, 'To Colonel Richard Lathers, from his

friend William H. Seward.' "This," said Mr. Simms, "was the milk in the cocoanut. On looking further among his pamphlets of the War, I found many official reports by Secretary of the Treasury Chase, and Secretary of War Stanton, inscribed in the same manner."

A few days after this dinner Mr. Simms called at my office to express the pleasure he had experienced in meeting so many distinguished gentlemen (several of them ardent Republicans), and in being greeted so cordially by them. I then inquired of him, whether he had learned the name of the officer who had the custody of my loyalty. He answered at once, a detective named Sampson. I astonished him greatly when I informed him that Sampson was employed during the entire war by the Great Western Insurance Company, of which I was the president.

While we are speaking of dinners, allow me to narrate, somewhat out of its proper chronological order, a very laughable incident. Moses Grinnel, a well-known merchant who was an earnest friend and supporter, as a Republican, of General Grant, as he had been earlier, as a Whig, an earnest friend and supporter of Daniel Webster, gave a dinner to the General to which he invited some ten leading Republicans. Mr. Grinnel, who was celebrated for his liberal dinners, ordered Delmonico to get up for him, regardless of expense, a banquet to be served at his own residence. The pilots of the port, with whom Mr. Grinnel (as the representative of the Chamber of Commerce on the pilotage commission) was a favorite, saw that he was supplied not only with the rarest kinds of fish, but with a large, fat turtle from Southern waters for the concoction of a soup which should be worthy of the occasion.

On the very same day, my intimate friend, Mr. John Gardner, a generous and genial banker of the city, invited, as was his frequent custom, a few friends to dine with him informally; but as Mrs. Gardner was out of town, he ordered at Delmonico's a plain dinner for six or eight persons, to be sent to his house at the hour appointed for the Grinnel dinner. Through some mistake, the plain dinner ordered by Mr.

Gardner was sent to the house of Mr. Grinnel, and the sumptuous dinner ordered by Mr. Grinnel was sent to the house of Mr. Gardner. Mr. Gardner and his guests were greatly surprised by the variety and display of the meal—by the enormous supply of turtle soup, the magnificent specimens of fish, and above all, by the confections, which included an immense sugar coach and six horses mounted on ornamental wood representing a roadway and surmounted by a very good likeness of General Grant enjoying his favorite pastime of driving a mettlesome team. Mr. Gardner explained that, as he was a liberal patron of Delmonico, he presumed that the restaurateur had taken this way of complimenting him, and he only regretted that he had not been notified so that he could have invited a larger number of friends.

On the other hand, at Mr. Grinnel's, according to Moses Taylor, one of the guests, the soup was served in a modest tureen, and was followed by a moderate-sized sea bass, the serving of both of which taxed the host's skill to the utmost, since there was barely enough to go around. This must have been exceedingly trying to a man who prided himself—and justly—on the magnificence of his dinners and on his genial manner of dispensing them, for it was not then the fashion to leave all the details of service to the butler. But this annoyance was as nothing to the disappointment and disgust he felt when, instead of the magnificent complimentary group which had been fabricated under his own supervision, and with which he calculated to electrify the company and win the gratitude of the General, a small ice cream in the form of a turtle was brought on.

In 1866, when the oil-speculating fever was at its height, I was offered a directorship in the Humboldt Mining and Refining Company of Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Suchard, the senior partner of one of New York's largest and most conservative banking houses, was the president, and such distinguished men as Wm. M. Evarts, James B. Johnston, Mr. Travers, and Mr. Forbes of Boston were directors. Impressed and flattered by these names, I readily accepted, and attended

the organization meeting at the Continental Hotel in Philadelphia, where we were entertained sumptuously by the speculative promoters of the enterprise. The story of the company's management is of no present interest. And yet I cannot resist the impulse to caution verdant young men against financial dinner parties. After the cloth was removed, our hosts informed us that a certain block of the company's stock was in the hands of adverse interests, and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the board to control this before the large earned dividend was declared. Mr. Evarts, with his usual caution, " regretted " that he had not the spare means to increase his ownership of the stock, and I followed his lead. Others subscribed. The next day I was surprised to receive a note from the president enclosing $6,000 of the stock, with the complimentary remark that he did not like to have me lose so valuable an investment. It is the old story. I weakly yielded to my desire to be agreeable to my banking friend and not to be behind my co-directors, and sent a check for the stock. And the last I heard of it was a citation to meet the directors to sign a mortgage of the large property which shortly before had been pronounced ready to declare a generous dividend. Such is life in speculative times.

Usually young men lose their money in bad company, but here was clearly a case in which most of the directors were made the victims of the stockholders in a worthless corporation.

In the above instance I came to grief by being overcredulous, but I have missed several golden opportunities in my lifetime by being overcautious.

Thus, one evening, several years after my disenchanting experience with the Humboldt Company, I was seated with Mr. Wilson G. Hunt in his parlor at the Clarendon Hotel, when Cyrus W. Field came in. I was about to retire, after greeting Mr. Field, when Mr. Hunt said, " Don't leave! Our friend has no doubt a business proposition to suggest, for he is the great source of fertility in the way of original enterprises." Mr. Field at once opened up his proposition, for he was not given to long prefaces where business was concerned. He

explained that he had secured an option of a few months, which would enable him to get possession of the City Elevated Railroad and its charter, on the most favorable terms. That in order to take advantage of this option he should go to London for the capital necessary to build and equip the road, and that he should issue stock at a low figure, and bonds at 75. "I will reserve for you two friends," he said, "as many bonds as you desire at seventy-five cents on the dollar, and will give you a hundred-dollar share of stock for every thousand-dollar bond you subscribe for." He then dilated on the best means of reconstructing both the road and the rollingstock, which were in so dilapidated a condition as very properly to be considered dangerous.

Mr. Hunt and I, after mature consideration, declined the offer on the ground that a ten-cent fare for this novel mode of transit would render the project unprofitable, even at the low rate of the investment. And besides, we feared that the elevated road might be laid aside in a few years for some new invention. All this reasoning proved to be more conservative than sound, for time developed that the structure was not so flimsy as we supposed, and the reduction of the fare to five cents has demonstrated the great value of the property as an investment, and its transcendent utility to the public. The bonds which we could have had for seventy-five, afterwards reached far above one hundred, and the stock which these bonds carried with them went still higher than the bonds. Mr. Field, thanks to his faculty for presenting any project in a favorable light, and to the confidence of capitalists in his capacity, had no difficulty in negotiating for all his capital in London.

CHAPTER IX

RECONCILATION

On returning to Charleston in the spring of 1867, I received a cordial invitation to visit Georgetown, my former home, for consultation with my old friends as to the best method of coping with the new problems which the war had just forced upon them. I found my friends greatly impoverished, and seriously disturbed by the novel situation in which the white and black races found themselves under the emancipation. I was gratified to learn that a kindly and sympathetic feeling existed between the whites and the blacks, and that both desired to make the best of things as they found them, and to aid each other in building up their fallen fortunes. Indeed, this mutual kindness extended to a division of the limited supply of daily food and clothing on hand, and to partnership in labor for the necessities of life.

As an old friend in whom they had confidence, I was invited by each race to speak on the issues of the day. I suggested a joint meeting in a public square, as I had nothing to say to one race which I would withhold from the other, and my proposition was accepted.

The following article from the Georgetown *Times* of April 24th refers to this meeting (the first held in the low country in which white and colored men met together to consider their common rights as equals under the law), and gives the substance of my remarks:

"MASS MEETING

"SPEECH OF COLONEL LATHERS OF NEW YORK

"The speech of Col. Lathers of New York to a large and attentive audience, was one of the most able, temperate, truth-

ful, and conciliatory, that it has been the good fortune of our community to listen to for many years. It is indeed refreshing and glorious, to find a speaker who embraces the good of the whole country within the scope of his remarks, not unmindful of the dire effects of partial and oppressive legislation; for, while clearly demonstrating the existence of oppression, he has beautifully portrayed the blessings of liberty as intended to be diffused by the original framers of the Government. But his remarks on the existing relations of the two races, gave the address that practical bearing so important to our district. It has been very evident to our people that desperate efforts are being made by emissaries who, instigated by no other desire than the gratification of selfish ends, strive to sow the seeds of discord between the two races, ignoring the blessings of education, with which the experience of ages has endowed a superior race. On the mutual obligations and future welfare of races living on the same planet and subjected to the same natural laws, Col. Lathers dwelt fully and freely. During the course of his remarks, questions were submitted by intelligent colored citizens, which he kindly and conclusively answered to their satisfaction. He was occasionally interrupted by demonstrations of approbation. Below, we give a synopsis of his speech:

"'*Mr. President:*—It gives me peculiar pleasure to address my old friends of Georgetown district, where the pleasant years of my childhood and the active years of my early manhood were passed. I see, among you, the faces of many, colored as well as white, with whom I played marbles, sailed boats, ran foot-races, and contended in other boyish sports, many years ago, on a basis of equality fostered by the past institutions of this State, which conduced to a kindly feeling between the two races; a feeling which I hope the new political relations will not be permitted to impair. I am now a citizen of another section of our glorious Union. My family and my estate have long been removed from the scenes of your political activities; and yet I have too much interest in the fortunes of my old associates in Georgetown, to refuse to respond to the request

of the leading men of both races to give my views frankly on the grave issues of the hour.

"'It is due to myself to say that I have no sympathy with The Military Bill, under which the States of the South are unconstitutionally deprived of their rights. Whatever may have been the faults of the unwise men, who organized the Secession movement, and who brought disaster and poverty on their section through a gallant but most destructive war, the States, certainly, are incapable of committing treason; and as they are without power to dissolve the sacred bonds which bind them to our Union, so too, neither Congress, nor any other body has the right to treat them as conquered provinces.

"'The Constitution assigns the duty of enforcing law and punishing the infraction of law, to the Executive department of the government which has no power to deal with States, but which is armed with full power to protect national interests, including the Union itself, against the violence and disloyalty of any or all of the individuals of the States. In other words the States of this Union are the great pillars of our nationality. The removal of any of them destroys the edifice, and the Constitution wisely makes no provision by which the perfect equality of each and every State in the Union can be modified or withdrawn. But, while I do not sympathize with this bill, Mr. President, I am desirous that the South should organize under it for the practical advantage of a speedy restoration of Southern rights. The bill is, fortunately, only temporary in its application, and will cease to be operative when the States shall have been reconstructed. I am also constrained to admit that many of the active supporters of the bill at the North really regard it as a necessity, and as constitutional; and, I believe, that they will be rejoiced to see the Southern States restored again to a perfect equality of rights. In other words, they regard the bill as a kind of scaffolding for restoring the shattered edifice of our Union. The consideration of past issues and abstract doctrines is now unprofitable. You must confront with courage the great facts

of emancipation and suffrage. And I would here remark to my friends of my own color, that the work before them demands all their energy. No man has any right to neglect or refuse to perform his whole duty to his State, his district and his family, while so radical a tranformation is going on. Every good citizen is bound to exert himself to the utmost for the protection of the community against the possible evils of a change which will be forced to a conclusion, whether he co-operates or not. And I would say to my colored friends, that they, too, have a great responsibility resting upon them. It is their duty to assist in restoring their State to peace and prosperity, and to elevate their race to an industrial and intellectual equality with the great body of freemen who have hitherto directed the destinies of our country.

"'I am sanguine that you will both meet the exigency with intelligence and patriotism, because, I am fully satisfied in my own mind, after a careful investigation of the sentiments now existing between white men and colored men, that the most perfect accord prevails. I find everywhere, and particularly in Georgetown, where I think I have the confidence (at least, to some extent) of both parties, that the white men are ready to grant to the fullest extent, the political rights of the colored men, and that the colored men have a respect for and confidence in their white friends which have been engendered by many years of mutual kindness.

"'Indeed, I am satisfied that there will be the fullest cooperation for the interests of both races at the coming elections provided no interference shall be permitted by the demagogues who are endeavoring to sow distrust in the minds of the less intelligent of the colored men of the district. It behooves you, then, my intelligent colored friends, to see that while you guard in the fullest manner the rights of your race against the least incursion from any quarter, that you also guard them against the machinations of the emissaries from abroad, who would produce discord between you and your old friends of the white race, among whom your lot has been cast, and who in common with you, must rise or fall with the

success or failure of your common country. South Carolina belongs to you jointly, and will be the joint heritage of your children. See to it, therefore, that by harmony you conserve your joint interests.

"'Now if, in my remarks, I am not sufficiently clear on every point and you desire fuller information, I shall be glad if you will propound any question to me; and I will reply to the best of my ability. And first I would remark that your liberty and political equality are as secure as my own. The same great charter which guarantees the rights of the white man, also protects yours; nor can any restrict your rights more easily than those of the white man. Even if the delegates to your Convention should prove recreant to their duty, and should attempt to defraud you of perfect equality, Congress, having retained the supervision of this matter, would not confirm any such proceeding; so that you need give no heed to charges of that kind against your white fellow citizens. The great question for you is how to establish your liberty and equality on a firm basis, and how to make these great boons valuable to you and your posterity. Liberty is a great blessing or a great curse, according as it is used. If you, who are intelligent, succeed in directing your race to a moral and intelligent discharge of the high duties of American freemen, then, indeed, will your race be blessed, and the country will be elevated by the change which has been accomplished. But if you are unable to do this, and ignorance, pauperism and crime prevail, sad, indeed, will be your fate.

"'You must regard with caution all white men who propose hostility to their own race, under any pretext whatsoever. You cannot safely trust any man who is false to his own race, whether that race be white or black. Your own native good sense will always enable you to judge of any real grievance of your race or any act of hostility toward it. You should immediately demand a remedy in a kind, firm and candid manner, and, as you have political rights, you ought to refuse to vote for any candidate unless you are perfectly satisfied of his ability to perform the duties of his office, to the advantage of

the State, and of his willingness to protect your civil rights in every particular. It is true, that under our present laws, all men are entitled to vote, but it is not proper that all men should be entitled to hold office. Unless men are qualified for office-holding by education, experience and integrity, it is an outrage to elevate them to places of responsibility, since their ignorance, incapacity and dishonesty may inflict countless evils on the community. After the adoption of your contemplated constitution (which I hope will be made by your most valued old citizens, whose knowledge of your organic law will be absolutely necessary) after your adoption, I say, of this instrument, and your admission to your rights as a State, you will be called on to discuss practical questions for your general welfare; honest differences of opinion will undoubtedly divide you into two or more parties, but I hope no disputes will ever arise which shall separate you from the white race.

" ' Fortunately no difference of opinion exists as yet. Both white and colored men desire to get back into the Union as speedily as possible, and neither of the great political parties presents practical issues at this time. Neither of these parties can claim emancipation as a measure, since both parties at the North commenced the War to put down Secession and not to free slaves. Indeed, Congress by a nearly unanimous vote, announced a policy antagonistic to emancipation at the beginning of the War, and even Mr. Lincoln's original proclamation of emancipation and conditional on the Secession States refusing to lay down their arms. Political organizations of a secret nature have been formed, it seems, which are designed, I fear, to create party antagonisms destructive of the cordial understanding now existing between the races. Many good men, no doubt, have already connected themselves with these dangerous organizations, lured by promises of sympathy from distant Northern States. But let me advise you, my friends, to find out whether your colored brethren in those Northern States enjoy the advantages which are so lavishly promised to you, and to ponder whether it is wise for you to abandon the men by whom your race has been cherished from barbarism up

to a degree of civilization which now fits you to become American freemen. The kindly sympathy existing between your race and white Southern men is not, and cannot be, comprehended by Northern disorganizers.

"'But this attempt to produce discord apart, you must consider that you are now emancipated, and that your right to discuss all political questions is beyond debate. Why should you lower the dignity of your position by skulking into holes and corners, and binding yourselves to secrecy by oaths, after the manner of slaves and assassins? You are free citizens of this glorious Union; the Union flag protects your meeting here to-day, and will protect your deliberations here in broad daylight to-morrow; and neither you nor your white fellow-citizens have any right to plan secret political movements which cannot be freely discussed in open day before all the citizens interested.

"'Such organizations are potent to overthrow the liberties of a people, and should be scorned as the refuge of political tricksters, whose designs will not bear investigation. Your own race in St. Domingo, after establishing their liberty on that beautiful island, were seduced by Jacobin emissaries from France to distrust their white fellow-citizens and to wage a war of extermination against them. After that, similar discord arose between the mulattoes and the black men, and the result is that that productive country and its colored inhabitants are reduced to a degree of helpless poverty and anarchy which it chills the blood to contemplate.

"'Any discord between the landowners and the working population of a country, or any interference by government with the vested rights of landowners, has always and everywhere produced poverty among the working people.

"'England under Cromwell confiscated the lands of the Irish gentry and gave them to English adventurers, with the design of enforcing loyalty. The result was the abject poverty of the Irish peasantry which has persisted to this day. The French Revolutionists confiscated and divided the lands of a large part of France; but this disregard of vested rights so interfered with

the interests of all parties that almost the first measure, after the return to power of Louis the Eighteenth, was the restitution of the land, or payment of the full value to the despoiled owner. There is, therefore, no danger in this enlightened day, of confiscation or a forced sale of land. There is no more power in the Government to compel men to sell lands than there is to compel men to purchase lands.

" 'It is a laudable ambition in you to desire to become landowners, and you have only to rely on the laws of trade and your own provident industry to accomplish your purpose. If the holders of large tracts of land cultivate them profitably, the demand for labor will increase, and high wages will prevail which will enable you to accumulate capital quickly by working for others; while if the landholder can cultivate only a portion of his land with profit, he will desire to sell the rest, and you can purchase, provided you have been provident.

" 'But be assured that the great essential is to labor for the means of purchasing land, rather than to indulge in unprofitable discussion as to the confiscation or forced sale of land, since these things will never be permitted in this country.

" 'No laboring population on earth has so completely the sympathy, respect, and affection of their employers as you have; and you deserve them fully. You have been faithful to your late masters. You took no unfair or unkind advantage of them during your servitude, not even in the late war. On the contrary, you waited patiently until the law elevated you to the dignity and responsibility of freemen. I have confidence that you will continue to exercise the utmost forbearance towards your old masters; and they, on their side, are now called on to extend to your frailties like consideration.

" 'The laws of trade will gradually correct many of the obvious present evils which are complained of by both parties. If the employer does not pay the colored man the wages he owes him, or maltreats him, the latter can enforce his contract by law and decline to work for him any more. If the colored man does not work faithfully, then the employer will discharge him. The poverty of the planters, the bad crops, and the inad-

equate labor of the colored man last year produced the evils which are now upon you.

" ' A better prospect exists this season, but the want of capital is sadly felt in every form of industry. This necessity can only be procured by establishing in the public mind complete confidence that the new relations between the white man and the colored will be as kindly as their former relations were, and that the freed men shall everywhere exhibit the same industry they exhibited when the energy of the South produced the chief exports of the country. Food cannot always be furnished by Government charity, and I charge you intelligent colored men not only to protect the political rights of the ignorant portion of your race, but to see to it that they do not fall into the hands of disorganizing demagogues, by whom their minds will be poisoned against their employers and their habits become those which lead to pauperism. Yours is the grave duty of elevating this portion of your race (by training them to be honest, industrious, and moral) to the dignity of useful American citizenship; and I trust you will seek in this great work for the assistance of those members of the white race who have never failed you in trouble when you needed friends. I may never have the pleasure of meeting you again, but I shall always look with affectionate interest to my old home, and shall hope for the success of my old friends of both races, and for that happiness which only industry and an honest discharge of mutual duties can produce.' "

On board the steamer which took me from Charleston to Georgetown, three of the original carpet-baggers had introduced themselves to me, and had told me frankly they were going to Georgetown for a contrary purpose, and that they intended to reply to any speech adverse to their plan of organizing the colored men into secret lodges in opposition to their old masters. To circumvent this threat, I gave notice early in my talk that I would be pleased to have any of my audience express adverse criticism, so that I could reply, as I had come before them not to dogmatize but to reason. The carpet-bag-

gers, finding this joint meeting of white and colored citizens in perfect accord with the speaker, contented themselves with requesting Mr. Raney, a very intelligent colored man, to ask a few questions, which he did. My answer to one of Mr. Raney's questions was received with applause.

Mr. Raney said: "The speaker has invited any of the audience to interrogate him regarding any of his remarks. I desire, with all respect, to ask him how we colored people can protect our rights if we are to abstain from party politics till we are educated?" I replied without hesitation: "I think I have suggested a mode already; but perhaps the wise counsel of the gentleman's father may strengthen my position. Many years ago, while his father was cutting my hair, his little son ran into the shop with blood streaming from his head, crying and complaining that a white boy had struck him with a brickbat. After washing the wound and not finding it serious, the father gave the boy this sage advice, which I now commend to my audience: '*Don't play, my son, with them poor buckra.*'"

The colored leaders waited on me the next day and said that if their old masters would act on my advice and recognize them in public matters, these "Northern men," as they called them, might go back and take care of the New England freemen, for whom emanicpation had done little in one hundred years.

On my return to Charleston, the merchants and planters congratulated me on the cordial reception given to my address. One of the most uncompromising of the planters thanked me warmly for the conservative advice I had given the freedmen, and said: "I had so much confidence in you, although you are so earnest a Union man, that I gave a holiday to all of the negroes on my plantation, in order that they might go to the meeting, but I could not quite reconcile myself to attend a mixed gathering of the kind." A number of the leading citizens of Charleston then asked me what I had to suggest in Charleston, to which I replied: "Re-district Charleston for public meetings of the white and colored people. In each district appoint three white and two colored men of conservative character and fairly popular with both races. Let the ad-

dresses be somewhat after the nature of the address which was made before the two races in Georgetown, and which was favorably received, not because of any wisdom or eloquence it possessed, but because it proposed a reasonable remedy for the present disturbed conditions. The colored people have not, as a class, lost their respect and affection for the whites, the existence of which—whatever the Abolitionists may think—was demonstrated by their conduct during the war, when they had full power to do evil and yet remained loyal. The colored men everywhere despise the poor buckra, and these carpet-baggers have nothing to offer with regard to which you cannot far outbid them if you will. The colored men will be proud if you will permit them to join you in the work of citizenship, and you will have at once the intelligent conservatives of the race with you." All this my questioners admitted might be good policy, but the people of Charleston would not so degrade themselves, they said, as to associate with negroes politically on a basis of equality. I said: "Very well, gentlemen, if you neglect this favorable opportunity to govern them, you will be governed by them, for they are in the majority. You will not co-operate with the colored men while you can yet rule; ere long you will be oppressed by these same colored men under the direction of the carpet-baggers whom you despise while they are organizing underground lodges for the purpose of robbing you. The honorary offices of your City Government will be filled by negroes, and the lucrative offices by the carpet-baggers." This they regarded as quite preposterous; and yet we all have lived to see the negroes dominant not only in the City Government, but in the State Senate and Assembly, and the carpet-baggers installed in most of the positions of profit, State as well as municipal.

I have elsewhere enlarged upon this evil, which I have always believed could have been averted had the intelligent white men appealed to the sympathies and pride of the colored men, to shut out the Northern adventurers. And, indeed, in our own State and City of New York a similar active co-operation of the conservative and intelligent classes with "the plain people,"

as Mr. Lincoln loved to call them, would to-day drive out of power a class of machine politicians quite as corrupt as those who defrauded and impoverished the South.

The carpet-bag rule was primarily responsible for the appearance of the Ku-Klux. The carpet-baggers put in power not the intelligent and conservative colored man, but the ignorant and brutal negro, to whom Americans of less spirit and pride of race than the Southerners would not tamely submit. It must be remembered that this insult was seconded by the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, all from the North, and all more or less eager for spoils, although many of them were school teachers and ministers of the Gospel. The immediate occasion of Ku-Kluxism was the unwillingness or inability of the local magistrates, known as trial justices, to protect property. These trial justices were not only of the most ignorant and corrupt class, but were located at great distances apart. The freedmen, owing to the promise of the carpet-baggers that they should each be supplied by the Government with "forty acres of land and a mule," subsisted while waiting for this good fortune by stealing cattle, hogs, and portions of crops. They were able to commit these depredations even in broad daylight with impunity, because of the difficulty of procuring police aid and because the justices were rarely to be found when wanted, and, if found, favored the thieves. To protect their property the white planters organized themselves into cavalry bodies to drive the thieves out of the community. Furthermore, after the war crimes became prevalent in the South which had hitherto been unknown there. Negroes frequently assaulted white women, and committed other acts of violence for which they were rarely punished by the courts. Of course, when the courts fail to redress wrongs and the indignant people begin to take the law into their own hands, excesses on the part of these self-constituted judges are inevitable. But there was one redeeming feature in this Southern lynch law. There is not a case on record of hostility to the Union, or any evidence of robbery or desire for personal profit in the Ku-Klux outrages; they were simply crimes of resentment against other crimes.

During the memorable visit of President Johnson and his Cabinet to New York (*en route* for the West) some forty of us who approved his conciliatory attitude towards the South, gave him a grand banquet at Delmonico's. His speech on this occasion gave ample proof of his conservative views of public policy, and was most favorably received; and had it not been for his unfortunate exhibition of ill-temper and want of dignity in replying to some blackguard who chaffed him while he was addressing a street assemblage from the balcony of the banquet hall, his visit would have been of the highest value to his administration and the the public welfare.

During this banquet Mr. Wilson G. Hunt said to me: "Let us pay our respects to Mr. Seward while he appears to be disengaged." After the usual compliments had been passed, Mr. Seward said: "Mr. Hunt, is the Atlantic cable well patronized at its enormous rates? If so, we shall all be running after your stock." Mr. Hunt replied: "No, we appear to have lost the patronage of your department." "Yes," said Mr. Seward, "the Government is not rich enough to pay such rates for communicating with the diplomatic corps across the Atlantic. We must continue the old postal mode of communication, which is cheaper if less rapid." This led to a discussion between them, and at last to a mutual understanding as to the future. The terms of this understanding have now escaped my memory. Several months later, when the telegraph company presented its bill for services, Mr. Seward denied having assented to the rates charged, and, indeed, was rather disposed to intimate that Mr. Hunt was so desirous of having the patronage of the Department as to have offered to put it on the free list. Being called upon to testify (before a commission) I fully corroborated Mr. Hunt's statements, as at that time I recalled the details of the conversation with great exactness. On reading this testimony, Mr. Seward rather astonished his counsel by remarking that he was now quite satisfied that Mr. Hunt was correct, since my testimony had revived his memory on the subject.

This incident, which illustrates the integrity of Mr. Seward and his willingness to acknowledge an error, is but one of many

proofs which might be cited of the honest and generous impulses of that great man, whom politics and partisanship were never able to corrupt.

By reason of the conservative tendencies displayed by President Johnson in the course of his Northern visit, Hon. John Van Buren and I were appointed by Tammany to visit him, on his return to Washington, for the purpose of laying before him the importance of bringing the Custom House officials into fuller harmony with his administration, and thus insuring to it the support of New York Democrats as well as that of conservative Republicans.

The President listened to Mr. Van Buren's arguments with marked attention. But when he perceived that we desired Democratic appointments, he told us candidly that while he was meditating the removal of hostile Republicans he was not prepared to appoint Democrats. Nevertheless, such was his desire, he said, to have the support of the conservative men of both parties that he intended to select conservative men, and he then handed us a list of the Republican names he was considering, and asked for our opinion of them. Mr. Van Buren, after scanning the list carefully, handed it back, saying: "Mr. President, with all due respect, these candidates are as mangy a set of official dogs as those now in power, and will, in my judgment, shipwreck your administration in our State. They have neither influence nor integrity. Will you permit us, Mr. President, as friends of your administration who will accept no office, to say to you that your enemies are of your own party, and that we fear that they will sooner or later display open hostility?" President Johnson listened to our remarks deferentially, and then said: "Very well, gentlemen; I will not say that I will not make these appointments so objectionable to you, but I will say this, that I have noticed that such political promises ofttimes lead to political immorality." The appointments were never made.

Here was an example of official integrity worthy of the best days of the Republic. Yet such was the partisan temper and loose morality of the radical party in Congress, at that period,

that measures were taken to remove, by impeachment, a co-ordinate branch of the Government for purely party purposes, because that branch of the Government refused to be dictated to by Congress in the matter of Cabinet appointments and appointments to offices generally. In other words, to sustain its own violation of the Constitution in passing an act curtailing the vested powers of the President, it was proposed that one branch of the Legislative Department should indict and the other branch convict the President of the crime of which they were guilty themselves; as if two burglars should conspire to constitute themselves, one a tribunal to prosecute and the other to adjudicate a charge against a householder because he barred the door of his house to protect his property against their unlawful purposes.

May 6, 1868, I became connected with the New York Guaranty and Indemnity Company, a unique financial enterprise—afterwards transformed into a trust company pure and simple—which was originated by Joel Wolf.

Mr. Wolf was considered one of the best-dressed men of New York. He chanced one day to notice a pair of boots I was wearing and, as he took a great fancy to them, I introduced him to Pacalan, their maker. When Pacalan had provided him with a pair which fitted him like a glove, he took out his pocketbook and handed him a ten-dollar bill. Pacalan told him the price was thirty dollars. Mr. Wolf was very indignant. "Take them right off," he cried. "I can't afford to be so extravagant as to wear thirty-dollar boots!" Pacalan, who knew Mr. Wolf to be rich and childless, said to him: "Mr. Wolf, I will remove them, since you cannot afford to pay for them, but your heirs will not be so economical." "Stop," said Mr. Wolf, "I think I'll wear the costly boots myself, just to annoy my heirs by my extravagance."

In the summer of 1868 I had the pleasure of entertaining Gen. Joseph E. Johnston at Morley's Hotel, London. He related on that occasion, much to my delight and that of my guests, his interesting and varied experiences during and after his command of his army corps. He told of an interview be-

tween Sherman and Lincoln which illustrates splendidly President Lincoln's manner of conveying his personal desire without improperly committing himself officially. Gen. Johnston said that he had the anecdote direct from Gen. Sherman himself, and he related it in Sherman's own language, which I reproduce here as nearly as is possible. "On being appointed by the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, to pursue and capture the Confederate President, and having a great desire that the war should be terminated as it had been prosecuted, not only with success, but without leaving any questions which could possibly open up a controversy against the powers of the Administration, I called on the President, and, after informing him of the orders from the Secretary of War, said: 'Mr. President, as your friend, I take the liberty to question the policy of capturing Jefferson Davis. I regard it in all respects as safe and quite as dignified on the part of the Government to let him remain where he places himself, a fugitive rebel, than to capture him and subject the country to an ill-timed discussion as to the constitutionality of a criminal prosecution. He will be defended by the ablest legal talent the country affords. And as our Constitution is an organic law which did not contemplate rebellion as a heinous crime,—in fact, our own independence was achieved thereby,—there seems to be much basis for argument in his defense. Our Democratic statesmen (even good Union men) will employ this argument in his favor before a popular jury, and the chances of his acquittal will be strong—a hazard obvious to me and to other loyal men.' The President said: 'Sherman, what is the object of all this?' I replied: 'I desire to have your consent, Mr. President, that when I arrest him I may let him escape, and thus protect you and the Union-loving citizens of our country from the ordeal of such a controversy, which is fraught with danger in any event, and which, if successful, can in no way inure to your advantage or to that of the cause which you have so effectively vindicated.' The President began, with his usual good humor, to try to change the subject and divert my attention to other military matters; but as it became late, I rose to depart and told

the President flatly that unless I had his concurrence to the contrary, I should capture and bring Davis back to Washington according to the order of the Secretary of War.

" The President then took my hand very cordially and said: ' Sherman, I am very much impressed with your views on this subject, but I cannot specifically instruct you on so delicate a matter of military duty. I will, however, relate a little story which reaches the dilemma. In Springfield we had a pious old clergyman, much beloved by his flock, and especially by two old spinster ladies near his own age, who had worshiped under his ministerial care for many years. One of them was taken very ill, and, her life being despaired of by her doctor, the other sister sent for their old pastor to administer the last rites and comforts of his church. These ladies lived some four miles distant in the country, and the zealous old clergyman drove out through a cold rainstorm in an open buggy, reaching the sisters' residence perfectly drenched and shivering with cold. On his entering the house the sister insisted on getting a little whisky to revive him. But he declined, as being an earnest temperance advocate, saying that he could not do that himself which he denied to others. The sister then urged him to make this an exception, as his life was too valuable to his church for him to put it in peril by refusing an antidote. He at last said, as I now in substance say to you, Sherman, " I cannot consent to your obviously kind and perhaps wise suggestion, but I am very thirsty and cold and desire a glass of water, and if there be any whisky put in the water it must be put in unbeknownst to me." ' "

The early days of 1869 were inexpressibly saddened for me by the death of my old friend, Col. Donald McKay, who had helped to set me up in business in my young manhood (as I have heretofore related), and for whom I had never ceased to have an affection that was almost filial.

Col. McKay enjoyed the distinction of being one of two persons in Georgetown (the other was Mr. Waterman) to raise their voices in defense of the Union during the Secession furor of 1861, and it was primarily to him that South Carolina

was indebted for having a bank "which passed through the serious times of general suspension without stopping payment or refusing to redeem their notes in constitutional currency."

He was a fine specimen of manly beauty, with regard to which he was not free from vanity. Like Lord Byron, he dreaded becoming fleshy, and his physician induced him to take up cigar smoking as a preventive. He had great difficulty in acquiring the habit, since smoking nauseated him at first. But, after determined practice, he became addicted to smoking to excess. Like Gen. Grant, he was rarely to be seen without a cigar in his mouth, and he invariably tendered his cigar-case to his friends before opening conversation, even in the street. The result was a cancerous sore under the tongue not unlike that which caused the death of Gen. Grant. An operation for its removal was performed, but was unsuccessful, and he died from its effects Jan. 13, 1869.

In 1865 I received from Col. McKay a letter (already quoted) in which he showed himself cheerful under his heavy war losses, and quite hopeful of building himself and the community of Charleston up again commercially. To that end he proposed to re-establish his bank, and invited the writer and his friends to take stock in the enterprise. Of course, I responded gladly, and I also sent him some $6,000 as a loan, with the request that he make use of it in case he needed temporarily a little ready cash.

Within a short time the stock of the People's Bank became a valuable investment, and its judicious loans greatly encouraged and stimulated the growth of business in South Carolina. Col. McKay offered repeatedly to pay the loan, but I always urged him to keep it as long as he could make it profitable at seven per cent.

I received a letter from him dated the very day of his death, apprising me for the first time of his dangerous malady, and informing me of his determination to make the hazard of going under the surgeon's knife rather than endure the torture of the cancer any longer. He inclosed his check for the old loan, with interest, and gave explanations regarding some of my affairs, of but little moment, which were under his manage-

Donald L. McKay

Reproduced from a steel engraving made about 1855
after a daguerreotype

ment. He said that he was writing the letter as his last business transaction, at ten o'clock a. m., and that his appointment with the surgeon was for one o'clock p. m. The rest may be imagined. Even at this remote date my feelings at the loss of this friend are so intense that I cannot suitably express them. Such friendships are rare, and gratitude is but a poor return for them.

Early in May of this same year (1869) I decided to retire from active business, and sent the following letter of resignation to the Finance Committee of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company:

"New York, 12th May, 1869.

"To Samuel D. Babcock, Esq., James M. Brown, Esq., Wilson G. Hunt, Esq., John R. Gardner, Esq., John F. Schepeler, Esq., Finance Committee:

"*Gentlemen:*—Desiring to retire from active business and to devote more time to my private affairs, I hereby tender my resignation as President of the Company, to take effect from the first of July next.

"I cannot refrain from expressing how reluctantly I sever the long and pleasant official relation with your board, whose influence and judicious co-operation within the past fourteen years have placed the Great Western Insurance Company among the first marine institutions in the world. Permit me on this occasion to return my heartfelt thanks to you individually, and through you to each member of the board for the many acts of kindness and uniform confidence extended to me during my administration, enabling me to overcome the many trying ordeals incident to a most hazardous, perplexing, and responsible occupation.

"My retiring will not in the least abate my interest in the Company, for, apart from the large interest I keep invested in its Capital Stock, the success of the Great Western is among the most treasured aspirations of my life.

"I am very respectfully,

"Yours truly,

"Richard Lathers, Pres."

A month later I received the following communication, which calls for no comment:

"OFFICE OF THE GREAT WESTERN INSURANCE COMPANY,
39 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK, June 10, 1869.

"At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company of the City of New York on the 10th day of June, in the year 1869, Mr. H. F. Spalding, of the Committee appointed at a previous meeting of the Board to prepare resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the Board upon the occasion of the retirement of Mr. Lathers from the Presidency of the Company, presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Board:

"'*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company have received with regret the announcement of Richard Lathers, Esq. (the President of the Company from its foundation), that he desired to retire from the management of the Company, upon considerations relating to his personal interests, and that he accordingly resigned his office to give opportunity for the election of his successor.

"'*Resolved*, That the intelligent, faithful, and constant devotion of Mr. Lathers to the interests of this Company is cordially recognized by the Board of Directors in their own behalf and in behalf of the body of the stockholders, as one of the chief causes of the great prosperity which has attended the conduct of the business of the Company from the beginning, and of the large returns upon their investment in its stock, which it has made to its holders.

"'*Resolved*, That the board gladly bears testimony to the justice and liberality of Mr. Lathers in his dealing with the customers of the Company, with the underwriters of the city, and with the general mercantile community, and congratulates him upon having maintained for himself and the Company the credit of a wise and upright administration of the weighty interest dependent upon his care, during peace and war, and through the great vicissitudes of trade and currency which have marked the period of the Company's history.

"'*Resolved,* That the Board of Directors will take measures to prepare and present to their retiring President a service of plate, to preserve in the eyes of himself and his family some memory of our obligations to him, and of our grateful acknowledgment of them.

"'William M. Evarts,
"'Henry F. Spalding,
"'William H. Guion,
"'Jas. B. Johnston,
"'N. Chandler,
"'Committee.'"

To this I replied:

"New York, June 24th, 1869.

"Messrs. W. M. Evarts, H. F. Spalding, W. H. Guion, J. Boorman Johnston, N. Chandler, Committee:

"*Gentlemen:*—I have received through the Secretary a copy of the Resolutions reported by you and adopted unanimously by the Board of Directors expressive of their kind appreciation of my services during my long official connection with them in the organization and management of the Company. The confidence and support which these gentlemen have uniformly extended to me, and the valuable influence of their names on both sides of the Atlantic as endorsers of the credit and integrity of the Company, have been the chief instruments of the Company's success, and will continue, I trust, under the able administration which succeeds me, to keep the Great Western Insurance Company among the first marine institutions in the world. The approbation, therefore, of such a body of men at the close of my administration fills the measure of my highest ambition. I shall treasure these Resolutions as the most valuable heritage of my family and the most valued record of my business reputation. Be kind enough to convey my grateful thanks to the Board for the Resolutions within referred to, and accept for yourselves, as a committee, my sincere appreciation of the friendly language in which they are couched.

"I am very respectfully,
"Yours truly,
"Richard Lathers."

The two following communications—one from the officers and clerks and the other from the clerks—gave me even more pleasure, if that is possible, than that from the Board of Directors, because of their absolutely spontaneous character:

"GREAT WESTERN INSURANCE COMPANY,
"NEW YORK, 24th June, 1869.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ.:

"*Dear Sir:*—Having learned with sincere regret that you have severed your official connection with this Company, we, the officers and clerks, cannot permit the opportunity to pass without testifying to you in some substantial manner the esteem in which we hold you, and the gratitude we feel for your many acts of kindness, during the many years of our association together.

"We desire that you will give us the gratification of sitting for your portrait, that you may keep it as a memento, ever reminding you of the regard in which you are held.

"We should be glad if you would inform us whether it would be agreeable for you to accede to our wishes, and if so, we desire that you should select your own artist at your convenience.

"On behalf of the officers and clerks we remain,
"Yours respectfully,
"ALEX. R. MCKAY,
"JAMES C. LUCE,
"J. R. SMITH,
"CHARLES F. ALLEN,
"Committee."

"GREAT WESTERN INSURANCE COMPANY,
"NEW YORK, 26 July, 1869.

"RICHARD LATHERS, ESQ.:

"*Dear Sir:*—We, the undersigned, on behalf of our fellow clerks of the Great Western Insurance Company, desire your acceptance of the accompanying set of Resolutions adopted on the occasion of your resignation as President of the Company.

"These Resolutions express our sincere feelings towards you, and they are offered with the hope that they may occasionally serve to remind you of those you are leaving, and secure for them a place in your memory.

"We remain, very respectfully yours,

"CHARLES F. ALLEN,
"J. R. SMITH,
"WILLIAM H. MAYTON,
"Committee."

The portrait referred to above was painted by Daniel Huntington, President of the National Academy, and is now in the Chamber of Commerce, where it was hung by special request of the Chamber, it being contrary to precedent to receive the portrait of a member during his lifetime.

The presentation of the silver service and of the Huntington portrait occurred at my New Rochelle residence, Winyah Park, on the evening of October 21.

The following report of the exercises is a portion of an article which appeared in the Port Chester *Journal* of the next day:

"Mr. Evarts, in making the presentation, said: 'Mr. Lathers, it is with great pleasure that it has devolved upon me to tender to you in behalf of the Great Western Insurance Company and myself, in the presence of your family and this large assemblage of friends, this token of our esteem and regard for your faithful services in the management of the affairs of the Company through its many vicissitudes. You retire of your own choice to devote your attention to your domestic affairs. The Company was founded with a view of increasing the business and effecting greater stability and security in marine insurance, and at the same time withdrawing the attention of the public from the too attractive schemes of the purely mutual system. Some steadiness and firmness of faith were necessary to cope with the unequal competition and glittering returns of the mutual system. The founders of this Company desired to establish something more safe, more permanent, even if less

brilliant in its apparent results. At one time it seemed doubtful whether their efforts would prove successful, and it was feared that they might have to be abandoned. When we consider that the early experience of the Company was of the most embarrassing character, that the country has had to pass through a fearful storm of war and panic, you may well feel proud that you have carried us through in safety, with all sails set, with every spar strong, and with every name bright and honest. Now, Mr. President, in addition to the series of Resolutions which the Board of Directors have adopted, expressive of their grateful recognition of your valuable and faithful services, and the Resolutions of the clerks of the Company accompanied by the handsome portrait of yourself as a memento to their esteem and appreciation of your kind and courteous bearing towards them, you have set before you this service of plate, which is but a vehicle of our good wishes to be constantly before your family and yourself, and those who may partake of your generous hospitality, as an agreeable reminder of what we feel toward you. Everybody can give advice, but very few are disposed to receive it. To give advice is human, but to receive it is angelic. It is true that I make no pretensions to having given it gratuitously. In conclusion I would beg your acceptance of this plate, with the recommendation that you keep it bright without and full within.'

"Col. Lathers, in response to the remarks of Mr. Evarts, said:

"'I accept this valuable and artistic present with grateful feelings. This magnificent testimonial of your regard shall be transmitted, I trust, to my children as the evidence of their father's good fortune in having served men who were as liberal in their recognition of faithfulness, as they were sagacious and generous in directing the business of an institution second to none in fostering and protecting the mercantile operations of our great country. While sensibly impressed with your kind approbation by the contemplation of the beautiful emblem of hospitality and by the gratification it affords

me that you have honored me by being the first to inaugurate its usefulness, I feel a degree of pride in having demonstrated that the best material for the management of a corporation is men of prominent success in their own business. It has been usual for presidents in forming and operating corporations, to select personal friends as directors; but I have always avoided blending social ties with business operations. The Directors of the Great Western Insurance Company were a body of the most distinguished merchants and bankers whom the city of New York afforded, nearly equally divided among the great commercial nationalities—American, French, German, Dutch and Greek. Care was even observed to represent the different sections of our own country, so that the Board was and is virtually international. I had not the pleasure of knowing intimately a single member of the original Board, and most of them I did not know by sight at the first meeting for the organization of the Company. Even our distinguished counsel was only known to me as a rising lawyer of great promise, whose eloquent and logical defense of the Union at Castle Garden, and telling speeches against sundry delinquent insurance companies, who were disputing claims under their policies, satisfied me that a lawyer who could defend the Union and Constitution with so much zeal and ability, and could also record so many verdicts against tardy underwriters, was the proper material for the counsel of our Company. I need not say that the united suffrages of intelligent men of all parties and his distinguished reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as an orator, statesman and jurist, have fully justified the selection. Indeed, the Board and Counsel seem to have conspired against any attempt of the officers to resist claims however unreasonable, and the officers, for the protection of the Company and to serve the ends of justice, were constrained to refuse any business emanating from doubtful sources. The business of the Company being thus confined to merchants of probity, but little talent was required to conduct it to a reasonable measure of success. The Company,

thus organized and continued, has passed through fourteen years of vicissitudes of the most trying nature—commercially and politically. The Board, composed of the most active merchants and bankers of the city, has convened monthly at precisely the same hour and the same minute during the entire period, with a regularity, promptness and unanimity which probably have never been equaled by any corporation. No resolution has ever been referred which has not passed unanimously, and while every proposition has been fully discussed, no personal or disagreeable remark has ever been uttered by the Board during the fourteen years. Even my own rather positive political course, at a time of great sectional excitement, was kindly tolerated by gentlemen who were earnestly opposed to my political proclivities, and often, as I gratefully remember, shielded me from the aspersions of renegades from my own Party. Thank God these sectional questions are passing away, and good men of all parties and all sections come together, forgetting past issues, which had been greatly misrepresented by corrupt and designing men. But I cannot refrain from recalling these trying incidents of our official connection, that I may, while expressing my appreciation of your uniform co-operation in the business of the Company, express also my gratitude for your generous personal support at a time when prejudice and passion too often usurped the place of reason, and severed the ties of the closest friendship.

"'The success of the Great Western is therefore attributable to the zealous co-operation of an active Board of Directors, with large interests of their own to manage, who shaped the general operations of the Company, but wisely left the details of the business to the judgment of the officers. Their influence both at home and abroad gave the Company an unquestionable credit, and their known watchfulness of its fair dealing and legitimate operation established and confirmed its reputation. The Stockholders and the mercantile community have thus been mutually benefited, and its retiring President may well be indulged the expression of a laudable pride in the honor of having presided over such a body of men for fourteen years

and in receiving so substantial an expression of their approbation.

"'With my best wishes for the continued success of the Company, its directors, officers and clerks, and my grateful acknowledgments to you, Sir, for your kind manner of conveying the compliment extended by the Board, I have only to close my remarks by thanking our honored guests for their presence, hoping that each one of them may be favored with a service as creditable to the artists who fabricated it, as it is to the committee whose taste is illustrated in the design.'"

The following year I completed my withdrawal from active participation in business by resigning my membership in the Chamber of Commerce.

One hot day, not very long before I retired from the Presidency of the Great Western, I dropped in, as I was in the habit of doing after banking hours, upon Mr. Moses Taylor, the hard-working President of the National City Bank, which was located in Wall Street, only a few doors away. I found Mr. Taylor in his little office at the end of the hall, in his shirtsleeves and busily engaged making entries in two monstrous account books, which were devoted to his private affairs. He had allowed his private secretary to leave with the employees of the Bank, he said, because he thought his factotum needed recreation more than he did himself.

After a little general conversation, Mr. Taylor remarked: "I perceive you are about to resign your Presidency in the Great Western. You are too young to retire from business, and must be very rich to afford the loss of your large salary." I said, "No, Mr. Taylor, you know I am not very rich. But I have enough to take care of my family if they will consent, as I think they will, to live modestly on my income; and if they will not, I have no idea of dying of apoplexy, as many do, to make them rich." "Perhaps you are wise," he responded; "but few will follow your example in this day of large fortunes in our city."

In a very short time the painful news came to me that my

good friend had paid the penalty of overworking his brain. He was prostrated many days by the attack, but was able to converse with friends. When I called, he reminded me of our last meeting, but generously relieved me of embarrassment by saying that he knew my remark was only intended as a jocular reply to his own question.

CHAPTER X

REAL RECONSTRUCTION

In the fall of 1870 (with a view to studying and aiding, as far as I might, the financial and commercial development of the South), I took up my residence in Charleston. I had abundant occasion to observe there that the carpet-bag officials of South Carolina took a fiendish delight in persecuting the respectable citizens (who could not help showing contempt for their ignorance and resentment for their robberies) by bringing against them as many charges of disloyalty as would be entertained by the courts; and these were legion, for the officers of the courts were only too glad, as a rule, to take sides with the persecutors. Among others who became obnoxious to these disreputable interlopers was the aged and much revered ex-Postmaster of Charleston, Alfred Huger, who was too honest to hide the loathing he felt for them.

Alfred Huger was of Huguenot blood, a descendant in direct line from the man of the same name who so gallantly released Lafayette from the political prison of Olmutz during the French Revolution. He had served as Postmaster in his native city of Charleston from 1835 or thereabouts (when he was called to succeed the Postmaster who had been appointed by President Washington) till 1865—an example of long tenure of office which would have been remarkable in any other part of this country than the South, where, in ante-bellum days, political services were not held to establish a claim to office, and where there were no political bosses who could have secured a position for even a street sweeper.

Like most young men of education and social position in his State, Huger, after leaving college, was ambitious to enter the Legislature and had no difficulty in doing so.

When Jackson's celebrated Force Bill came up for discussion

before that body, he defended the action of the President and Congress (to the great indignation of the Nullification members and the great surprise of his friends), on the ground that the revenue laws, like all other laws wise and unwise, should be supported. He admitted that he believed them unwise and against the interests of the State, but he insisted that they must be enforced by the Federal authorities until they could be legally abolished, or constitutional government would become a farce. This action on his part caused his constituents in Charleston to hold an indignation meeting, which unanimously passed a resolution asking for his resignation. To this he calmly replied, that, while he could not recognize the doctrine of *instruction* to members of legislative bodies which had been accepted in some other States (never in Carolina), he would have promptly surrendered his commission if the request for him to do so had been based on his mental or moral incapacity; but that he could not think of resigning at the behest of a portion of his constituents (however large that portion might be), when their avowed object was to fill his place with another who would take the same oath he had taken to support the Federal as well as the State Constitution and uphold the Federal as well as the State laws, and would then deliberately perjure himself. He added that he, their present representative, would be guilty of a base act of cowardice if he should abandon his place, since he would not only be shirking his duty as a citizen, but would be acting unfairly towards those of his constituents who were loyal to the National Government and who expected him to be loyal to his oath of office.

This patriotic and manly defense of the Government was repeated to President Jackson, who was as quick to reward public service as he was to denounce, with more fervor than judgment, any opposition. He promptly removed the Postmaster of Charleston (the Charleston Postmastership being at that time the only position of honor and emolument in South Carolina which the President controlled) and appointed Huger to succeed him. Huger at once wrote to the Presi-

ALFRED HUGER

Reproduced from a photograph of a painting by A. H. Emmons, made for Colonel Lathers shortly after the war

dent, expressing his gratitude for the honor intended, but adding, "If I am correct in supposing that your Excellency has been moved to this means of honoring me by any fancied or real service of mine to yourself and the country, then I desire to ask as a further favor of your administration that you reinstate the Postmaster you have removed, who, while he may have unwisely antagonized your Union policy (influenced, no doubt, by the unfortunate perversion of State Rights, which I know how hard it is to resist), was yet appointed by President Washington, and is, in all respects, as a citizen and an official, perfectly acceptable to the people; and it has never been the practice in this State to appoint or remove officeholders for political reasons."

This generosity met a hearty response, and the commission was promptly returned to the old Postmaster, who died in office a year or so after, when Jackson again appointed Huger. He was occupying this position when I visited Charleston in 1861, and I found him as staunch and fearless a Union man then as when he made his speech against Nullification in 1833.

When the Confederacy had been fully organized under the Presidency of Jefferson Davis, this Union veteran was removed; but the citizens of Charleston, true to their inherited ideas regarding officeholding, remonstrated bravely, telling President Davis that their firmly established custom of retaining good men in office, regardless of political differences, should not be interfered with. So President Davis promptly appointed Huger to fill his own vacancy. But here a difficulty arose; Huger said he could not serve as an official under a government which he regarded as revolutionary, however much he respected the persons controlling it, though he should conform as a private individual to the changed situation through force of circumstances. His friends advanced the same arguments which he had presented to Jackson in 1833 in favor of the retention of his predecessor. They said that the citizens of Charleston, respecting his long and firm advocacy of the Union, did not expect him to change his views

on that subject, but only desired his honest and efficient services in the Post Office as formerly. He consented, finally, on condition that he should be permitted to seal in a box the postage stamps and the gold of the Government of the United States which were in his official custody, deposit them in such bank or place of safety as he might select, and return them to their rightful owner after the peace, which at that time was generally hoped for, had been attained. The box was duly placed in one of the Charleston banks and labeled, "*The property of the United States in the custody of its ex-Postmaster, Alfred Huger.*"

When the bombardment of Charleston commenced, Huger applied to the Confederate authorities for permission to remove this sealed box to a place of safety some hundred miles from the coast, and the request was granted, although it was regarded as the foolish whim of an oversensitive officeholder. In due time, however, the Confederate authorities made use of the funds, nothwithstanding the Charleston pledge.

During the War Mr. Huger's plantation was raided and his plantation buildings burned by a Union gunboat dispatched up one of the rivers for the express purpose of punishing a "rebel" postmaster. He had the misfortune to lose his Charleston residence, also, before the War was over, by the great conflagration which nearly destroyed Charleston. I am informed that after the burning of his city house, the last thing of value he had, he and his wife, who were both in declining years, were found seated on a stone not far away from the ruins with a basket of silver by their side, which was all they had been able to save from the flames.

Under the carpet-bag régime, the carpet-bag District Attorney brought suit against this unfortunate man for the Post Office money which the Confederate Government had confiscated—some three or four thousand dollars, perhaps. The case came before my friend, the United States Circuit Judge Bryan, an old Union man appointed by President Lincoln because of his sterling character. The facts were proven to be those I have just detailed, and the judge not only emphasized,

in his charge to the jury, the honest effort of the postmaster, but explained that it is universal law that when a government is unable for any reason to protect its officers, the officers cannot be held responsible for any loss which may arise. The jury, without leaving their seats, acquitted the defendant. To the surprise of everyone, the carpet-bag District Attorney gave notice of an appeal, claiming that in some old decision in the West it had been ruled that a public fiscal officer was always liable whether protected or not, and he announced that he proposed under that ruling to prosecute the claim further.

Many ineffectual attempts were made to have the case heard speedily by the Appellate Court, and the Attorney-general (one Ackerman, a carpet-bag official from the North, but appointed from Georgia) was asked to dismiss the case, but he turned a deaf ear to all entreaties. Having been an extreme Secessionist in Georgia, where he had lived for some time before and during the War, said Ackerman posed in Washington, after the War, as a fervent Union man, and he resented, as such renegades always do, the well-earned reputation of Mr. Huger, with whose loyal record he was perfectly familiar.

As I had the honor of knowing President Grant and many of his Cabinet, I determined to go to Washington and reveal there the true history of Huger's official life from the Jackson administration to the close of the Civil War. Armed with letters from distinguished Republicans—among them William M. Evarts, Moses Grinnel, and William E. Dodge—I called upon President Grant, who expressed great sympathy for the Union Ex-Postmaster as soon as he heard his story, and promised me that he would relieve Huger of a disgraceful prosecution. I promptly advised Mr. Henry Gourdin and C. T. Loundes, friends and bondsmen of Huger, of the happy outcome of my mission. But I had hardly reached my summer residence in the North when I received a rather tart letter from the President saying that the Attorney-general had informed him that the Huger case was before the Appellate Court, not on the appeal of the prosecution as I had stated,

but on the appeal of the lawyer of the defendant, who had been convicted instead of acquitted. I went to Charleston immediately, and arming myself there with the verdict of the jury under the seal of the Court verifying the statements I had made to the President, I returned to Washington. The President informed me he was glad, for my sake, of this verification, but that he could not render the assistance he would like to render because the Attorney-general had objected to his official interference until the case was formally adjudicated by the Court. He offered to give me a letter to the Attorney-general expressing his sympathy for Mr. Huger. I told the President that I feared the prejudice of his official, who, being an old Secessionist transformed into a carpet-bag Union man, would resent everything friendly to a genuine Union man's cause. The letter was received by the Attorney-general exactly as I had feared it would be. With great pomposity, he informed me that he was too busy to listen to these rebel appeals. I forgot myself and replied, "Mr. Attorney-general, I am and always have been a Union Southern man, and if I am not mistaken we were not on the same side before or during the war. I am here in behalf of an original Union Southern man who is being persecuted by carpet-baggers, many of whom were not long since in rebellion. I am here with the President's letter; have you any reply for me to carry back to him?" He said, "I am not here to be interrogated by you." I then said, "Will you say when you will investigate the matter as the President requests? I am here on a mission of public policy, and I propose to discharge it. And while I am always properly impressed by the dignity of public officials, I cannot divest my mind of the fact that you are but a public servant whose salary I help to pay, and I am not disposed to rank you above the President of the United States, who appoints and directs you, and who has had the courtesy to listen to, and, in my judgment, to sympathize with the grievance of Mr. Huger. In fact, by letter, he refers the matter to you for relief as coming within the province of your specific duties."

Ackerman said finally that he might look into the case in a couple of weeks, but he did not appear to recognize my view of our mutual relations, and we parted in very bad temper. The utter incapacity of this man compelled the President to remove him not long after, and he appointed Gen. Williams, a sound lawyer, as his successor.

On learning of the change, I visited Columbia and laid the Huger case before the new Attorney-general. He listened to me sympathetically, and said: "Return to Charleston and put your statements into writing and I think I can relieve your friend." I had just finished a letter to Gen. Williams, in accordance with this advice, when Mr. Wm. H. Aspinwall, *en route* from Florida to New York, called on me in Charleston. After spending an evening with me he offered to stop over in Washington, if he could be of service to me there. I at once produced the letter to the Attorney-general I had been preparing, and said, "If you concur in these statements and can get Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, to present this document, you will be doing one of your customary kind and liberal acts for the South." He replied, "Apart from my sympathy with the South, it would afford me great pleasure to serve Mr. Huger, for his brother, I believe, was a classmate of mine at college."

In due course I received a formal document from Attorney-general Williams discharging the complaint against Alfred Huger. As I had heard that both Mr. and Mrs. Huger were unable to leave the house by reason of illness, I sent the discharge to Mr. Huger's two bondsmen, who dispatched it with all speed to Mr. Huger by a mounted messenger. The messenger found both Mr. and Mrs. Huger confined to their beds, the latter having just injured herself seriously by a fall. But, when the discharge was read, she sprang out of bed, exclaiming, "Now I can die in peace, for my husband's official honor is vindicated."

A short time after, I attended the funeral of this much persecuted Union man. The sad occasion was rendered doubly sad by the agony of the aged wife, whose loyalty and affec-

tion had never failed her husband during his long and dramatic career.

Another Union Southerner—also of Huguenot descent—who had made himself so indispensable to his fellow-citizens by a long career of usefulness that they insisted on having the benefit of his services (in spite of his Union sentiments) during the Civil War, was James L. Petigru. He was selected as codifier of the State laws because he was considered, by reason of his pre-eminence in legal learning, the patriarch of the South Carolina bar. He possessed a moral courage which made him follow unswervingly what he believed to be right without posing as a reformer or as a victim. In the words of Judge Bryan (another noble Union Southerner), "James L. Petigru knew that the gate of power—the only gate to power under the Confederacy—was through the State. He knew that through the State alone could he hope to reach the country and the world and win the large distinction worthy of his talents. But he loved his people better than himself, and he could not subscribe to a creed which he believed would carry death to the country and bring ruin on his State. So, without complaint, he submitted himself to his limited and narrow destiny."

In 1869 the Charleston Chamber of Commerce sent a memorial to Congress asking the National Government to transform the old Charleston Customhouse and Post Office building (which was rapidly falling into ruins from neglect) into a Post and Telegraph Office; but Congress showed little disposition to accede to this request. In June, 1870, while I was on a visit to Washington, I received a letter from S. Y. Tupper, First Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, urging me to do what I could to further this project. Accordingly, I paid a visit to the Secretary of the Treasury and appealed to him to save a Revolutionary edifice in which the patriot Hayne had paid the penalty of his patriotism with his life, and which bears the same relation to Charleston and South Carolina as Faneuil Hall bears to Boston and Massachusetts. The Secretary sent at once for his architect and directed him to repair

the building, and to-day this grand old monument stands as a splendid illustration of the fact that blood is thicker than water.

In December of this year I attended, as a delegate from Charleston, the Convention of the National Board of Trade at Buffalo. A sumptuous banquet was offered the visitors by the merchants of that city. The morning before this event a representative of one of the daily journals called on me and requested a copy of the speech which he understood I was to make to the toast, "Our Country." He observed that the appointment of a delegate from South Carolina to respond to that sentiment was a proper compliment to my well-known Union attitude before and during the war, and his journal desired to obtain a copy of my remarks in advance, so that they could be printed in the morning edition.

I sat down and prepared an address, and, handing it to the reporter, requested him to send slips to the other papers and one to myself in time for me to use it at the dinner. This request was overlooked, and, being engaged all day in the discussions of the Convention, I had no opportunity to go to the office for my speech before it was time to dress for the dinner. I made a few hasty notes, therefore, and spoke therefrom, depending on the inspiration of the occasion. I closed by toasting Ex-President Fillmore, who sat on my right, and asked that the toast be drunk standing. This was done with a will, after which Mr. Fillmore made a patriotic response.

The next morning two speeches attributed to me appeared in the Buffalo papers. One was from the copy I had furnished, and the other from the stenographic reports of the banquet. Considerable discussion arose between the papers as to which of the two speeches was genuine. I was so mortified that I did not preserve a copy of either. My impression, however, is that the reported speech was the better of the two, because it had the advantage of the reporter's corrections of the infelicities of expression which are likely to abound in an extemporaneous after-dinner utterance.

President Fillmore's absolute withdrawal from public af-

fairs in his later years had somewhat abated his influence even in his own city of Buffalo. When I was asked to speak to the toast, "Our Country," by the committee of the Buffalo banquet, I said that, while I appreciated the compliment, I thought that Mr. Fillmore, as Ex-President of the United States, ought to respond to that sentiment. To this the chairman laughingly replied, "Oh, we have old Fillmore always with us 'to do the patriotic,' and we desire South Carolina to take it up." In fact, no place was given to Mr. Fillmore in the programme, and he would not have been called upon to speak but for my toasting of the Ex-President of the United States.

A short time after the expiration of Mr. Fillmore's term as President—a position which he filled very acceptably to both parties—I happened to meet him in Broadway near Bond Street one morning, and as the weather was fine we walked down town together for the sake of the exercise. I was actively engaged in business at that time, and when we reached Fulton Street I was naturally recognized by many of my business acquaintances. Mr. Fillmore remarked playfully, "Colonel, you must be very popular in this quarter." I replied in the same tone of pleasantry, "Not nearly as popular, Mr. President, as you were while you were in office. I well remember what a stir it made when you passed down Wall Street among the great financiers. In this location, Mr. President, a live dog is more valued than a dead lion."

At a meeting of the Charleston Board of Trade, March 31, 1871 (one of the largest meetings known in the history of the Board), the first organized protest in South Carolina against the abuses of carpet-bag rule was made by arranging for the assembling at Columbia of a Tax-Payers' Convention which should represent the interests of the taxpayers of the entire State.

I quote herewith a portion of the printed official report of the proceedings of this Board of Trade meeting:

"The meeting was called to order by the chairman, Vice-President Geo. H. Walter, who spoke as follows:

"'*Gentlemen of the Board of Trade*:—The purpose of your meeting is to take into consideration the present financial condition of the State, and by deliberation to devise such measures as will enable us, by co-operation with our fellow-citizens throughout this commonwealth, to relieve ourselves of the intolerable burdens which now oppress us in the present, and with an ominous prospect of their being increased in the future, unless prompt and decisive action at once be taken. It is only necessary to look at the alarming increase of the debt of the State, and the reckless expenditure which has marked the history of the State for the past five years, to satisfy us at once, that, as taxpayers, we are bearing a burden too grievous to be borne, and which must inevitably result in bankruptcy and ruin. *It means confiscation,* and there are those who do not hesitate to announce that such is the purpose. *We are to be taxed out of our property.*

"'I am unwilling, with others, to submit to this condition of affairs without an effort to remedy the evil.

"'In 1860, with the taxable property of the State valued in round numbers at $500,000,000, the people of South Carolina supported an economical and honest government at a cost of about $400,000, while the debt of the State was about $5,000,000. To-day we are taxed upon a property which, at an overestimated assessment, is less than $190,000,000, and are told that we will be called upon to raise $4,000,000 to pay the interest on a debt of $15,000,000, and the so-called expenses of the State. Thus, while the taxable property has decreased in value about sixty-two per cent., our taxes have been increased ten-fold, and the debt of the State three-fold in the same period. It is due to ourselves to protest against the continuation of this iniquity, and, in unmistakable language, to state that we will no longer tolerate it. With this great fraud perpetrated in the past, it is now proposed to create a new loan to be known as the "Sterling Debt." It is only another "turn of the screw," which is already destroying us, and it is our duty to ourselves, as well as "good faith" with the present honest creditors of the State, publicly and clearly to affirm to

them, and to warn the capitalists who may be disposed to make such a loan, that we regard its creation as illegal, and that we will resist its payment by all legitimate means. I trust your deliberations will be marked with harmony and unanimity, and result in promoting the best interests of this commonwealth.

"'The meeting is ready for business.'

"Col. Richard Lathers of this city, for many years the President of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company of New York, arose and submitted the following resolutions:

"'WHEREAS, Under the operation of the present State Government, the majority of the property holders and taxpayers of the State, from whom the public revenue is mainly derived, are excluded from any power in the legislation of the State, and from any practical influence in the imposition of taxes:

"'AND WHEREAS, The moneys raised by taxation are improvidently and corruptly used and expended by persons who hold office under the State Government, and the sums appropriated for alleged public uses are excessive and extravagant:

"'AND WHEREAS, The credit of the State has been pledged illegally, and it is now proposed to pledge the credit of the State for further loans, by a new issue of bonds, which may be negotiated in the market to persons who may take them, in ignorance of the circumstances under which they are issued. Therefore,

"'1. *Resolved*, That we, the property holders and taxpayers of the State, residing in the City of Charleston, do hereby deem it our duty to declare that the bonds heretofore issued without legal sanction, and the so-called "Sterling Loan," or any other bonds or obligations hereafter issued purporting to be under, and by virtue of the authority of this State, will not be held binding on us, and that we shall, in every manner and at all times resist the payment thereof, or the enforcement of any tax to pay the same, by all legitimate means within our power.

"'2. *Resolved*, That we deem it our duty to warn all persons not to receive, by way of purchase, loan, or otherwise, any bond or obligation hereafter issued, purporting to bind the

property or pledge the credit of the State; and that all such bonds or obligations will be held by us to be null and void, as having been issued corruptly, improvidently, and for fraudulent purposes, and in derogation of the rights of that portion of the people of this State upon whom the public burdens are made to rest.

"'3. *Resolved,* That the taxpayers of the State are hereby requested to meet in their respective counties for the consideration of this subject, and the enormous tax levies of the current year, and for the appointment of two delegates to represent each county in a State Convention to be held in Columbia on the second Tuesday in May next, for the same purpose.

"'4. *Resolved,* That this State Convention of Taxpayers be requested to confer with his Excellency, the Governor, on the dangerous fiscal condition of the State, and request his official aid and co-operation in the investigation of the accounts of the Comptroller and the State Agent in New York, so that the amount and character of the bonded debt and all other liabilities of the State can be clearly stated, with a view to such further action as may be necessary for the protection of the public creditors and of the taxpayers of the commonwealth.'"

These resolutions were unanimously adopted after remarks in their favor by myself and others, and, at a subsequent meeting, Mr. Henry Gourdin and I were appointed to represent the Board in the proposed Convention.

The Taxpayers' Convention opened May 9, and continued in session four days, at the end of which it adjourned subject to future call. Hon. W. D. Porter was unanimously elected its President. Resolutions were passed and a petition to the Legislature was adopted. Little was accomplished, it is true, in the way of direct practical relief, but an impression was created in the public mind that the administration of the affairs of the State must be more in accord with the desires of honest and conservative citizens hereafter.

At the Annual Dinner of the Hibernian Society on St. Patrick's Day, 1872, at the anniversaries of the New England Society on Forefathers' Day in 1872 and 1873, and at practically all the other frequent public occasions at which I spoke during my residence in Charleston, I made it a point to emphasize the necessity of a revolt on the part of all good citizens of both colors against the disgraceful situation in which the State had been placed; and in the political campaign of 1872 I supported actively the Greeley ticket (particularly in Western Massachusetts, where I had a summer residence), because the success of this ticket seemed calculated to bring about the reforms of which the South stood in such sore need.

The committee appointed to notify Horace Greeley formally of his nomination arranged to meet him at his celebrated farm, Chappaqua, which was only a few miles from my Westchester residence. I was invited by this committee to accompany them and introduce them to my rural neighbor, with whom my personal relations (possibly because of our common love of agriculture) had always been friendly, in spite of the fact that I had been roundly abused by the *Tribune*. We reached the Chappaqua depot about eleven o'clock and found Mr. Greeley waiting for us in the garb in which he was always depicted by the caricaturists. He greeted us all in a most neighborly manner—quite as if we had come to look over his farm—marched us up hill and down dale to a spring about which numerous tin cups were ranged, and invited us to try the water, which, the day being sultry, we were not loath to do. He then conducted us to his residence, on the beautiful lawn of which a sumptuous lunch was spread. After being presented to Mrs. Greeley and his daughters, we formed a circle and the chairman of the committee read an address of notification, to which Mr. Greeley replied in an effective, common-sense speech which contained the usual promises of a candidate. Lunch was then served, speeches followed, and we left, determined to elect our compromise and reform candidate.

The beautiful spirit of Horace Greeley and his splendid

magnanimity were exemplified by his kindness after the war to the Southerners who came to New York for the means with which to re-establish their ruined enterprises.

It was my habit to give such assistance as I could to my friends, and to solicit for them such credit from business men as would enable them to operate their mercantile and manufacturing plants. I found Horace Greeley an ever-ready and efficient supporter of the unfortunate journalists. Not only did he say kind things of them in his editorials, but he lent them his credit to enable them to procure type and paper. On meeting him in the street one day, I said, "Mr. Greeley, I want to express my thanks to you for your kind and liberal response to my recommendations of needy Southern friends, for you have, indeed, been their good angel." He retorted rather sharply, "If you have truly felt this way, why did you introduce your friend Rhett of the Charleston *Mercury* to others instead of to me?" To this I replied, "I could not be so rude as to ask you for assistance for the editor of the Charleston *Mercury*, your life-long enemy, whose abuse you returned in terms still more violent." "Ah! there you were mistaken," he answered. "You did not correctly estimate my character. Nothing would have afforded me more pleasure than to have returned my old enemy kindness for his persistent abuse."

Greeley was exceedingly brusque, however, with applicants for his favor when his sympathies were not enlisted.

One day a big, burly negro preacher, carrying an enormous gold-headed cane and arrayed in a correspondingly enormous white clerical cravat, called on Greeley in his sanctum, where everyone had access to him without ceremony or previous notice. He was standing up, as usual, at a high desk, busily writing. The intruder, finding that Greeley paid no attention to his entrance, rapped on the floor with his cane. Greeley looked at him a moment and said, "Well?" and returned to his writing. The clerical visitor again gave Mr. Greeley notice of his presence by another rap on the floor. Greeley, continuing to write, said, "State your business." "I have

called, Sir," the preacher said, "to ask you what can be done for the moral and physical elevation of our race," whereupon Greeley turned and said, "Let them go down to New Jersey and raise sweet potatoes."

The last two years of my stay in Charleston were rendered exceedingly agreeable by the fact that I was privileged to entertain a large number of Northern visitors who acquired thereby a better understanding of the South and a friendlier feeling toward it.

The following from the Charleston *News and Courier* of March 20, 1873, tells in detail the first of the occasions on which I was able to bring together socially representative citizens of the South and of the North.

"A LEAF FROM HISTORY

"WHY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DID NOT PROSECUTE JEFFERSON DAVIS

"A distinguished party of gentlemen from Massachusetts who arrived in the city last Wednesday on their way farther South, and a select party of Charleston gentlemen, who had been invited to meet them, were entertained by Col. Richard Lathers at his mansion on the South Battery yesterday afternoon. The visitors from the North were the Hon. John H. Clifford, who has held successively the positions of Attorney General, Governor and Supreme Court Justice of Massachusetts, and who is now the President of the Boston and Providence R. R. Company; the Hon. John C. Hoadley, of Lawrence, Mass.; Major H. Seabrooke; and one or two other gentlemen. The Charlestonians who were invited to meet them included a number of the most prominent gentlemen of the city, and the meeting of these representative men from the antipodes of the country proved an exceedingly pleasant one, both parties taking occasion to express to their host the pleasure that the meeting afforded them.

"Judge Clifford is one of the most distinguished jurists of Massachusetts and has been prominently connected with several events which have become matters of national history.

The famous Webster-Parkman murder occurred while he was the Attorney General of Massachusetts, and he conducted the prosecution of that case to its final result in the execution of Dr. Webster for his atrocious crime. Another event of great historical interest in which Judge Clifford participated, was the solemn consultation of a small number of the most able lawyers of the North at Washington, a few months after the war, upon the momentous question as to whether the Federal Government should commence a criminal prosecution against the Hon. Jefferson Davis, for his participation and leadership in the War of Secession. In this council, which was surrounded at the time with the greatest secrecy, and which has never yet been described, were United States Attorney General Speed, Judge Clifford, the Hon. William M. Evarts, and perhaps a half dozen others, who had been selected from the whole Northern profession for their legal ability and acumen; and the result of their deliberation was the sudden abandonment of the case by the Federal Government in view of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of getting a final conviction, which were revealed by their patient study of the law bearing upon the case. Mr. Hoadley, then and now a near neighbor and intimate friend of Judge Clifford, relates that before the latter set out for Washington to join this conference, he paid him (Mr. Hoadley) the compliment of calling upon him to consult upon the momentous question which he was about to assist in solving, and it was agreed between them that unless it were clear that the conviction of Mr. Davis would follow his trial, and that the law and the facts on the side of the prosecution would be irresistible in the Supreme Court as well as in whatever court of original jurisdiction the case might be initiated, it would be the part of wisdom and true statesmanship, as well as policy, not to begin the prosecution. The conference took place and was long, learned and profound. The Federal Constitution, the law of nations, the decisions of the Supreme Court, the trial of Aaron Burr and other *causes célèbres* having more or less bearing on the case then under consideration, and the whole list of state trials

in the history of the civilized world, were studied, weighed, analyzed and dissected. The council was divided upon some points and agreed upon others. Some were strenuous for prosecution, others who had weighed the subject more carefully, insisted from the first upon the futility of such a course, and, finally, the wiser councils of the latter prevailed and the proposed prosecution of Mr. Davis was, as will be remembered, suddenly abandoned, although it may be doubtless news to many of our readers to learn that this sudden change of policy was the direct result of this solemn conclave. After the council had adjourned, and Judge Clifford had returned to his home, Mr. Hoadley inquired the result of their deliberations, and Judge Clifford made a striking and characteristic reply in something like the following language; 'Remarkable as the fact may appear, we find that the laws of the United States are not so constructed as to afford any certainty of punishing high treason or rebellion, and Mr. Davis, if arraigned under them, cannot be brought to conviction. Perhaps it is that the men who framed our fundamental law and system of government, and who were then fighting for liberty, with halters about their necks, did not pay much attention to the question of punishing in the future the acts which they were committing themselves.'

"Another reminiscence illustrating the sentiment of the thinking men of the North in 1865, was related by Mr. Hoadley, of the Hon. John A. Andrew, then Governor of Massachusetts. It was on the day of the grand review of the Federal Army in Washington; a number of gentlemen were being entertained at the residence of General S. L. M. Barlow, in that city, and the conversation had turned to the subject of bringing the leaders of the Confederate cause to punishment under the Federal law of the land, when Gov. Andrew expressed himself as follows: 'It cannot be done—the criminal law has no application here. Why, it is proved by its very title that the criminal law is a law for criminals—the laws or the code of laws formed by the great body of the people, who are in the main good men, for the regulation and punishment of the bad

men scattered here and there throughout society. But when a whole people commit an act, rash, impolitic and direful in its consequences though it may be, and the best and wisest men and women of the whole people participate therein, encourage and lead it, it is impossible to consider the criminal law as being framed to meet that case, or as being in any way applicable thereto. These people appealed to the arbitrament of war, and they have suffered by the war—that is their punishment. I believed in giving them war, when it was war they wanted—yes, and I gave a captain's commission once to a Massachusetts sergeant for no other reason than that he had with his own hands hanged seven guerrillas. That was war, that was the measure of their punishment, but criminal law has nothing to do with this case.' This declaration of the emphatic Governor of Massachusetts caused the remark, when related yesterday, that it had an historical parallel in the famous words of Burke, when he told the British Parliament, in reference to the American Revolutionists, that he 'knew of no way to write an indictment of a whole people.'

"A number of similar reminiscences of both Northern and Southern history were related, and after an hour or two of pleasant conversation and mutual expressions of a desire of better acquaintance and a fuller appreciation of the condition of both sections of the country, the guests separated, Judge Clifford proceeding with his family to Savannah, whence he expects to return in a few days to make a longer stay in this city.

"On Thursday Col. Lathers entertained a small party at his residence, who were invited to meet Judge T. Davies, of the New York Supreme Court of Appeals, who is making a brief visit to the South. A visit from the Hon. George Boutwell, late Secretary of the Treasury and now Senator-elect from Massachusetts, is also expected by Col. Lathers in the course of a week or two."

About a month later the same journal contained the following:

"A BRILLIANT RECEPTION

"SOUTHERN HOSPITALITIES TO NORTHERN VISITORS

"One of the most notable social events of the Charleston season was the brilliant party given last evening at the mansion of Col. Richard Lathers, on the South Battery, in honor of the Hon. Horatio Seymour, ex-Governor of New York, and the Hon. William Cullen Bryant the venerable editor of the New York *Evening Post,* but better known and more endeared to the people as their loved 'Poet of the Woods.' The cards of invitation to this 'At Home' of Colonel and Mrs. Lathers had been issued for some days, and the party assembled in response was a most select and fashionable assemblage, including the most prominent gentlemen of the city, with their ladies, as well as a number of military guests from the garrison at the Citadel.

"The earlier hours of the evening were occupied with a delightful *conversazione* in the elegant drawing room of the mansion, and at about eleven o'clock an invitation from the host summoned the party to the parlors where supper had been prepared. After this repast, Col. Lathers introduced Mr. S. Y. Tupper, President of the Chamber of Commerce, who gracefully extended a formal welcome to the principal guests of the evening, and expressed the obligations of the whole Southern people to the venerated poet who had embalmed in the amber of poetry the daring deeds of 'Marion's Men,' a song which has been sung in many a Southern bivouac, and has warmed the hearts of soldiers at many a Confederate campfire. He concluded with the sentiment which would be echoed by every guest and by every true heart of the American people, that the noble author of Thanatopsis might, 'When his summons came to join the innumerable caravan' of pilgrims from this world to the world of spirits, depart 'like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.'

"Mr. Bryant responded in a brief but beautiful and touch-

ing address. He modestly waived the compliments that had been addressed to him, and thanked the preceding speaker and, through him, the assembled guests, for the kind and cordial welcome extended to him. Turning from that subject, however, he said that in his walks through Charleston he had not failed to note how by the silent processes of nature, the wrecks and devastations of war were being covered and effaced by growths of the fresh spring-time, and he could not help hoping and believing that in the same way and by similar inscrutable and divine evolutions of the will of Providence, the moral wounds of the war would be healed and greened over with new, health-giving growths of moral sentiments and impulses, which would make the picture fairer than ever it was before the rude shocks of war had marred its beauty. He trusted and believed that the chivalrous, knightly, generous race which had made Southern society what it was in happier days before the War, preserved even in its overthrow the vitality which would produce from the fallen trunk new shoots of life and vigor, which would restore, in more than pristine beauty, the fair fabric of the Southern commonwealths.

"The host next called upon the Hon. J. B. Campbell for a sentiment, and he responded in a graceful post-cenitical address, proposing the health of the Hon. Horatio Seymour, whose public services he enumerated and whose presence in Charleston he warmly welcomed.

"Gov. Seymour responded to the applause of this sentiment by thanking the ladies and gentlemen for their kindly welcome. He made a graceful, appropriate and eloquent address, in which he alluded to the evident signs of returning material prosperity observed throughout the Southern States, and nowhere in more marked degree than in Charleston; and gratefully mentioned the warm welcome and kindly expression of esteem which had been given not only to himself, but to the hundreds of Northern people who had been sojourners in the South during the past few years. The South, he said, had now passed through, and was rapidly emerging from, the difficulties and embarrassments which had followed in the

wake of war, and her future promised to be bright and glorious, and it remained to be seen whether the South had not in the long run, come better out of the conflict than the North. There had been less material disaster there immediately following the War, but its events had kindled a spirit of gigantic speculations, unsafe ventures and a perversion of business principles to the spirit of gambling on a tremendous scale, so that it was painful to contemplate the possible result in the next few years. On the whole, he heartily congratulated the gentlemen of the South, and especially those of the City by the Sea, upon the energy which they had displayed, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, and the evidences of their returning prosperity which were everywhere apparent.

"Col. Lathers next proposed the health of ex-Governor W. D. Porter, who responded in an elegant and finished address, full of dignity and reverence for the traditions and memories of the past and hopeful auguries for the future of the State.

"The remainder of the evening was pleasantly spent by the guests in the interchange of social courtesies, and the party repaired to their carriages and their homes at a late hour, charmed with the elegant hospitality of their host and hostess, and retaining pleasant reciprocal recollections of the Northern guests and Southern entertainers."

I desire to relate, in connection with this reception, an incident which has an amusing as well as a serious side.

My friend, Captain Samuel Y. Tupper, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, anxious to have the affair a complete success, as the first of its kind, suggested that it might be unwise to invite the Northern Army officers to meet the ladies of Charleston, who were not as yet as much reconstructed as the gentlemen. He said that while he had much confidence in the good breeding of both the Charleston ladies and of the Yankee officers, yet he feared that a disagreeable coldness might be displayed by the ladies when the introductions were made. I thanked him for his thoughtful advice,

but insisted that the Northern officers must not be left out if social life in Charleston was to be elevated above the old issues which had proved so disastrous to Charleston and to the South.

The General who commanded the post, on receiving the cards of invitation for himself and his officers, addressed me a polite note of inquiry, precedent to acceptation, asking in what garb they would be expected to appear, for he evidently had misgivings in common with many of my friends as to the United States Army uniform, which had not as yet appeared in Charleston parlors.

On the evening of the reception I requested my old friend Col. Edward Thurston, who had served in the Confederate Army as one of Gen. Robert E. Lee's *aides,* and a couple of other young Confederate officers of like gallant record to help me in receiving and in introducing the guests to one another, and, as my *aides* in a social battle, to follow my lead. As the guests began to arrive I offered my arm to the first lady who appeared, and my *aides* followed my example with the three ladies who came after. After presenting the ladies to Mrs. Lathers and to our distinguished guests, who were stationed on a raised dais at the upper end of the long picture gallery, we turned immediately around and introduced our fair partners, without consulting them, and, seemingly, as a matter of course, to the brilliantly uniformed Northern officers. We soon had every officer introduced to a charming Southern lady who found herself *en tête-à-tête* with a gentleman as well as with a soldier; and, no time for adverse reflection having been given, good breeding did the rest. In point of fact, I found it difficult to induce many of these couples to adjourn to the supper room, because they feared they might be separated, and more than one of these introductions resulted ultimately in marriage. I have always found the brave men of either section who were under fire most ready to make social concessions in the interests of unity. But I must admit that the ladies have not been so easy to placate, and I am now satisfied that I ran a great social risk

on that occasion. I succeeded only because I made *surprise* the basis of my tactics.

In the spring of 1874 the *News and Courier* had occasion to chronicle another joyful meeting of Northerners and Southerners in my South Battery house.

"DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

"The hospitable mansion of Col. Richard Lathers, South Battery, was thrown open to a number of distinguished gentlemen and their families from the North who are making an excursion in a palatial Pullman car which they brought with them. Among the guests present were A. L. Dennis, Esq., President of the New Jersey Railroad Company; Mrs. Dennis; Moses Taylor, Esq., President of the City Bank, New York; Samuel Sloan, Esq., President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company; Joshua Bacon, Esq., Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; Mrs. Bacon and the Misses Bacon; W. D. Bishop, Esq., President of the New York and New Haven Company; Mrs. Bishop; C. Baylis, Esq., and wife, of New York; A. Q. Keasbey, Esq. and wife of Newark; Mrs. D. Dodd, of Newark; Albert Rutson, Esq., of England; and Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, D. D., honorable delegate to the Evangelical Alliance of the United States from Holland. After a pleasant collation, remarks were made by Messrs. Moses Taylor, Samuel Sloan, W. D. Bishop and other gentlemen complimentary to South Carolina and the enterprise of the merchants of Charleston, and expressing sympathy and fraternal feeling on the part of the people of the North for the South. Mayor Perry, of Newark, made a happy acknowledgment on behalf of his city for the valuable patronage of the South, which he said had helped to enrich his community. He expressed a warm desire for the establishment of still closer relations with the South. The visitors spent a very pleasant hour in social converse with several leading Charlestonians who had been invited by Col. Lathers."

Mr. Alfred L. Dennis, the leader of the above party, was kind enough to present me with a handsomely-printed account of this unique journey by palace car from New York to Florida, from which I quote a few extracts herewith:

"Thursday, February 26th, 1874, at nine a. m., there stood upon the rails of the Pennsylvania railroad at Jersey City, a miniature dwelling house, capable of accommodating a family of twenty-three, ready to receive its occupants and to roll away from the Hudson to the St. John—from the wintry blasts of the North to the orange groves of Florida. Since this is to be an attempt to record the doings of the household for the next thirty days, it is well to begin with some description of the house. Let us look through it before its inmates take possession, while it is in the sole charge of Charles W. Rowan, major-domo, and Benjamin Harris, cook and bottle-washer.

"It is of the familiar maroon color, and its name is 'Pennsylvania.' It consists of four rooms and a piazza. A kitchen, dining room, parlor and ladies' dressing room, with pantries, closets, refrigerators, cooking range, hot and cold water, and all the appliances of convenience and comfort which can be compressed into the space of a large railway car. The dining-room can be converted into sleeping apartments. The piazza or balcony in the rear is large enough for ten seats. There are electric call bells from parlor and dining room to the kitchen. And the table can be spread with India china and the choicest linen. The wheels are adjustable to any width of track, so that it can move over any railroad in the country. It is in fact the car of Col. Thomas A. Scott, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and has been placed at the disposal of Mr. Alfred L. Dennis, President of the New Jersey Railroad, for an excursion to Florida and back with some friends whom he has invited to join himself and Mrs. Dennis in running away from the March winds. It was to leave with the morning train to Washington.

"Before it started seven of the family had taken possession

of their temporary home. They were Mr. and Mrs. William D. Bishop of Bridgeport, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Baylis of Brooklyn, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Sloan of New York, and Mr. Moses Taylor, also of New York.

"No stirring incidents of travel are to be recorded in the journey across the Newark meadows. At Newark, the household was largely increased. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred L. Dennis, Mr. and Mrs. Nehemiah Perry, Mr. and Mrs. Martin R. Dennis, Mrs. Daniel Dodd, Mr. and Mrs. A. Q. Keasbey, Mr. Thomas T. Kinney, Mr. Samuel S. Dennis, and Mr. Alfred L. Dennis, Jr., made up the Jersey part of the family, and so with nineteen inmates, besides some friends not yet ready for their leave takings, the little Hotel rolled away southward. The furious snowstorm of the preceding day had caused forebodings of delay, and all were ready to enjoy the bright morning and the successful departure. At Philadelphia, the household was made complete by the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Bacon and daughters, Miss Helen and Miss Anne Bacon. And now the house was full and merry, and the trip was fairly begun. The day was devoted to establishing the proper relations of intimacy among the various members of the family, to discussing plans of travel, and settling down into regular habits of locomotion.

"The marked feature of the day was the first dinner. The household was too numerous for the table, and gallantry prompted the gentlemen to insist that the ladies should dine first, assisted by two gentlemen. But the experiment was never repeated. The two gentlemen who devoted themselves to the ladies expected to be welcomed to the table of the gentlemen after the cloth was removed, to join them in discussing the quality of the champagne provided for the trip. But they were barred out. In vain they implored admission to that festive board. They stood without the closed door, and heard the 'sounds of revelry,' and exhausted all their arguments and entreaties upon Mr. Sloan, the master of the feast. He was obdurate. His jolly companions greeted the lamentations of the outsiders with roars of laughter. And

he would occasionally open the door and roll out an empty bottle in mockery. The Mayor had no power or process for such an emergency, and the chronicler can only avenge himself by recording the incident for the warning of future travelers. It had one good effect. It broke up at once the pernicious system of dividing the sexes at dinner. Thereafter a table was established in the parlor, and both being graced by the presence of the ladies, the meals in the car became models of elegance and propriety, and were enjoyed with more zest than those of any hotel. And it had another good effect. The merriment of that first dinner was so hearty, that it put the whole family in the best mood for enjoyment, and gave a tone of good humor and pleasant feeling that pervaded the entire trip. . . .

"Thursday, March 5th, was our day in Charleston. It was too little for a city of so much interest, but we prepared to make good use of the short time allotted to us. Fortunately it is a compact city, lying between its two noble rivers, and through the kindness of very attentive friends, we were able to see it to great advantage. By the courtesy of Gen. Q. A. Gilmore, whom we had met at Richmond, we were provided with a request to Col. Gilmore, in charge of the U. S. troops in Charleston, to furnish us with a Government launch for a visit to Fort Sumter. Col. Gilmore called at the Hotel in the evening and arranged that our sail across the bay to the fort should begin at three o'clock. During breakfast, Col. Richard Lathers came and invited the whole party to assemble at his house to meet some friends at lunch, which we accepted with great pleasure.

"The morning was occupied in walking and driving about the old city, and observing the points made famous in the War. At noon we assembled at the beautiful house of Colonel Lathers on the Battery, where we were welcomed with great cordiality and introduced to a large company of gentlemen and ladies who had been invited to meet us. A fine picture gallery occupied a large space on the first floor, and in the top of the house is a large library well stocked with books

and engravings, and commanding from two sides noble views of the city and harbor. From the balcony we could see Fort Sumter, and with a glass could trace the points made memorable during the long siege. Fort Moultrie, Sumter, James Island, Fort Johnson and other points whose names were once so terribly familiar, lay beneath us, and our intelligent host and his friends pointed out to us the scenes of the various operations of the War, and talked of its trials and its results, without a touch of bitterness and with no remark to awaken any unkind remembrances.

"Soon we assembled in the parlors and found a very handsome entertainment. We were welcomed in a formal speech and Mr. Taylor was called on to respond. He appealed to the lawyer of our company as our talking man, but that functionary had evidently left his talking apparatus at home, supposing he would have no use for it on this trip, and was obliged to call on Mr. Sloan and Mr. Bishop, who were quite equal to the occasion, as they always are. The Mayor also very gracefully spoke of the old relations between his city and Charleston, and returned thanks for our cordial entertainment. The Editor was called for in vain. He vanished mysteriously towards the close of the Mayor's speech and reappeared as soon as all danger of speechmaking had passed. The venerable Judge Bryan, of the U. S. District Court, made happy compliments to the ladies, and Col. Simons closed with expressions of kindness and hospitality on the part of the citizens of Charleston. It was an occasion of great interest, and caused a general feeling that in this social intercourse of the educated classes of the North and the South, now so freely cultivated, is to be found a most efficient means of restoring good feeling, and healing finally the cruel wounds of the War."

During their visit to Charleston, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Sloan became interested in the affairs of the South Carolina Railway, in which I was then a director, and this interest, which soon materalized in the financial support of Mr. Taylor, improved

greatly the credit of the company. Later, however, Mr. Taylor became dissatisfied with the management of the road and withdrew his support—a loss which hastened its bankruptcy.

My Charleston house was honored in this same spring of 1874 by the presence of another Northern guest, the distinguished Unitarian divine, Dr. Henry W. Bellows. While he was in Charleston Dr. Bellows sent me the following letter, which I treasure, not only because of my admiration for his fine personality, but because of its grateful recognition of the beginning of an era of better feeling between the North and South:

"CHARLESTON HOTEL, April 15, 1874.

"To COL. LATHERS,

"South Battery, Charleston.

"*Dear Sir:*—I desire to express in a form more permanent than word of mouth, my gratitude for the courtesy shown myself and friends by the elegant entertainment given at your house yesterday. For such unmerited and unexpected courtesy, I feel, with my friends, a warm obligation, and trust that your excellent endeavor to strengthen the good understanding between citizens from different portions of our common country, long unhappily alienated, will be blessed with a grand success. It was unspeakably pleasant and touching to see the light of returning confidence in faces long averted, and to find genial smiles exchanged among those accustomed for a time to cold looks from each other. I shall carry home a most delightful sense of restored affection, and do my best to promote in my turn such heavenly charity and mutual forgiveness as I saw exhibited in the distinguished assembly you gathered at your hospitable and generous board. . . .

"With high esteem very cordially your obliged friend and servant,

"HENRY W. BELLOWS."

Dr. Bellows came to Charleston in the company of two ladies of refinement for the advantage of its genial climate.

The party visited the Battery almost daily and passed hours reading there, beneath the trees, in full view of my piazzas. Just before leaving for the North the Doctor informed me, over his glass of wine, that years before, during his early priesthood, he performed in New England the marriage ceremony of the elder lady, now a widow, and that he had recently become engaged to the young lady, her daughter, in the delightful shade of that Battery Park of Charleston, South Carolina. "Such," said he, "is life."

And here I would recall an anecdote of the time of the War (illustrative of President Lincoln's patience under reproof), in which Dr. Bellows played a part. As soon as the Sanitary Commission was organized, Dr. Bellows was appointed its chairman. The duties of this office necessitated frequent interviews with the Secretary of War and with the President. Dr. Bellows' enthusiasm and courtly manners quickly won over the President, and they came to have very confidential relations with each other. By reason of his ardent desire for the success of the War and his interest in the reputation of the President, the Doctor expressed such favorable opinions of the latter's administration that he grew to long for his visits as a relief from the annoying criticisms of Greeley and his followers. In due time, however, the Doctor discovered spots on the sun, and set about to efface them with injudicious though friendly zeal.

The President, as everyone knows, pardoned deserters from the army who had been condemned to death by court-martial so frequently that he became a bar to military discipline. This troubled the good Doctor. Accordingly he broached with great suavity one day the disagreeable subject of the unfavorable comments of the press, and tenderly pointed out the danger of giving way to sympathy so far as to obstruct military discipline in time of war. The President, after listening with seeming interest, as was his kindly habit, said, "Well, Doctor, I have heard your able opinion on the duties of an Executive. Would you not like to run the machine yourself?" This interview was related to me by Major Opdycke,

who witnessed it, while I was waiting in an adjoining room for an interview with the President.

The continuance of frauds and misrule in South Carolina, in spite of the protests of the Taxpayers' Convention of 1871, made it appear desirable, in 1874, to convene the Taxpayers' Convention again. I went to Washington and laid the grievances of the taxpayers before prominent senators and representatives, the Cabinet, and President Grant, with a view to engaging their sympathy—an object which I found more easily realized with the members of the East and the North than with those of the West. The President encouraged the movement, remarking that he had observed that my course in the former Convention of 1871 was strictly non-partisan and that he wished to discountenance everything like fraud or partisan action on the part of the Federal officeholders. Senator Sumner sent for me during my stay in Washington to obtain, as he said, an exact statement of the carpet-bag rule in South Carolina. In fact, I spent the last Sunday of his life with him in his sick-chamber. I found his rooms filled with rare engravings, of which he was justly proud. He seemed to be much moved by the frauds and misrule practiced by the negroes and white adventurers, and promised to do all that he could for the white sufferers. As a staunch anti-slavery advocate he had resented the domination of white masters over the negro race, but he now equally resented the oppressive and dishonest negro rule over the white race. He explained that he had opposed the entrance of the Rebel States into the Union without disciplinary legislation, because he had feared that real slavery of the negroes would exist within nominal freedom unless the freedmen could protect themselves by the use of the ballot; and he had been opposed to conferring unlimited suffrage on such an ignorant class. He would have had the suffrage extended to the negroes under an educational qualification like that to which white men were subjected in Massachusetts.

The rest of his remarks were of great interest, but I feel in honor bound to hold them as confidential. In leaving his room, I said, after expressing my gratification for his cor-

diality, that, were it not for the impropriety of publishing a private interview, it would afford me great pleasure and my Southern friends great satisfaction if I could tell them fully of the sentiments expressed by so distinguished a Northern statesman in favor of reform at the South. He promptly replied, "If that is your opinion, on your return to Charleston address me a letter on the subject and I shall be happy to reply to it." I wrote Senator Sumner such a letter as he suggested, but it reached Washington the very day he died.

The second Taxpayers' Convention assembled at Columbia, February 17, 1874, and continued in session three days, under the Presidency of Hon. W. D. Porter.

After deliberating on various subjects of public interest, the Convention adopted an Address to the States, recommending the organization of Taxpayers' Unions, an Address to the People of South Carolina, and the following Resolution, of which I was the author:

"*Resolved,* That a Committee of fifteen be appointed by the Chair, to proceed to Washington and present to the President the 'Address' prepared, on behalf of the people of this State, to the people of the United States, and request him to lay the same before Congress."

On presenting this resolution to the Convention I delivered an address upon the evils of carpet-bag and negro rule, not a single statement of which was ever controverted, although it was given a wide publicity. I repeated the same statements in substantially the same form before President Grant and the Joint Committee of Congress appointed to investigate the matter. My visit to Washington is described in a letter to D. J. Curtis of Boston, which I wrote on my return to Charleston:

"Charleston, S. C., April 18, 1874.

"D. J. Curtis, Esq., Banker, Boston, Mass.

"*My Dear Sir:*—I have read with very great pleasure your thoughtful and sympathetic letter, and have taken the liberty of letting other gentlemen here have the advantage of know-

ing how educated and liberal Massachusetts now feels on subjects so grave as the decadence of public morals, and the capacity of representatives. Your remarks are strikingly true as to the undue merit accorded to Mr. Sumner's honesty, but, in a picture of low tone, lights are agreeable by contrast even if the objects made conspicuous are commonplace; and I assure you that the South has been so robbed and ill-treated that common honesty and the smallest sympathy are lights in the gloomy picture. And thus you find as hard a Copperhead as myself uttering paeans to Greeley and Sumner, to whom a few years ago I was inimical in the highest degree. Such is life with a truce to consistency.

"Perhaps I may bore you with a short account of our interview with Grant. I will remark in passing that our delegation embraced four ex-governors, several ex-senators, generals, bankers, and merchants of distinction, all men of liberal education, except myself, and of high social position. Members of the Society of the Cincinnati and three of the sons or grandsons of the delegates whom the Charleston Chamber of Commerce had appointed to receive Gen. Washington in Charleston during the first Presidency were among the number. I had prepared my address referring to this, as an implied compliment to the present President, and had dug out of obscurity the only sensible state paper Grant had ever produced. The opposition Committee representing the carpet-baggers and negroes was headed by Whittemore, who was expelled from Congress for selling cadetships, and a State Senator who had just been arrested, shut up in the police lock-up of Washington, and fined $50 for participation in a drunken brawl. One of the colored Senators on this Committee had been tried for ballot-box stuffing and escaped by a technicality, his coadjutors having been convicted. Indeed, the whole body, with few exceptions, was more or less tainted with frauds or misrule. Their sole plea in answer to my speech to the President and the Committee of Congress was one of mitigation, alleging that the frauds were exaggerated or that Southern white men had refused to co-operate with them, etc., etc. In other words

we had charged them with stealing twenty-five spoons, having caught them in the butler's pantry in the very act. They, however, plead that we are liars, as they stole but twenty spoons, and that they would not have stolen any had we consented to associate with them in the kitchen. This argument seemed to be cogent in the estimation of the President, and, perhaps, his associations confirm the philosophy.

"But to the interview. At our arrival in Washington, Governor Aiken, Gov. Manning, Gen. Simons and myself, called on Secretary Fish, and, after a pleasant interview and a communication with the President, the next day at eleven o'clock was fixed for a formal introduction. Gov. Porter and myself were appointed to address the President after the introduction of the whole Committee by the Secretary of State. A few minutes before we were admitted to the audience, a carpet-bagger from Pennsylvania, whose election to the Senate from South Carolina was one of the outrages complained of by me and who had been arrested upon a charge of corruption in procuring his seat, was seen to leave the room where he had read to the President the speech [an inflammatory speech by Gen. Gary at the Taxpayers' Convention] you have heard of. After the introduction by Mr. Fish, Mr. Porter, in a most respectful manner and in pathetic language, set forth the fraud and misrule which the taxpayers of the State invoked Congress to redress, and appealed to the President to use his influence in behalf of the people who, in their extremity, as American citizens, looked to him, the Executive of our country, for sympathy. The President, standing with one foot on a chair, balancing himself and occasionally interrupting the speaker with tart reproaches, finally broke out in a most abusive manner and turned the interview into a personal grievance of his own. He said that even the N. Y. *Sun* had not been so vile in its personalities. At this point I stepped forward to read my address, desiring to avoid the danger of my own temper under such treatment if I delivered it in my usual manner. The President listened a few moments till I got to that part which charges that the election of the first

carpet-bagger, Gov. Scott, was procured by the use of $300,000 of the money of the Freedmen's Bureau, when he replied that if I knew this I ought to testify to the fact before the Committee now investigating the charges against General Howard on that topic. I replied, 'I do not make the charge. I have the honor of reading from a report of a Congressional Committee No. 121 of the 42nd Congress.' After replying that he did not believe the charge, he permitted me to go on till I came to other charges against the action of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, to the effect that the agents of that organization were sowing dissension between the races by advising the negroes to look for a division of their late masters' property. He then stopped me again with some dissenting question, to which I replied, 'I do not cite these facts of my own knowledge, but I have the honor, Mr. President, of reading to you your admirable report to President Johnson when you were Lieutenant-General.' The truth was that he was so angry that he had not heard my preface to the report I was reading, and supposed the statements of his own report were my allegations. After other interruptions, to which I answered courteously, I closed my address and the delegation retired. I remained behind and approaching the President said, 'Mr. President, I am pained and mortified by this unfortunate interview, because I perceive I have certainly misrepresented you, having on my return from Washington, after my pleasant talk with you some time ago, represented you as in full sympathy with the non-partisan effort I was initiating against fraud and misrule in South Carolina.' He replied, 'How could you hear that infamous speech in your Convention, and not rebuke it?' I remarked, 'Mr. President, I was not in the Convention when that speech was made. I had retired fatigued by the delivery of my opening speech of nearly two hours, but I can assure you that not one member of the Convention who heard it, had any sympathy with it. On the contrary, it was wholly against the object of the Convention and the Resolutions under which our deliberations were held. And such was the temper of the Convention, that the report was

remanded back to be purged of everything, personal or political; a course which had not become necessary in any other case during our sittings.' He then asked me who made the speech. For the moment the name escaped me, and he suggested Wade Hampton. To which I replied, 'General Hampton was not a member of the Convention.' And then, as I recalled Gen. Gary's name, he asked me who he was. I replied that he was a gallant but eccentric man, whose record for bravery during the War gave him a degree of local popularity which put him into the Convention, but I knew that the Convention had no sympathy with his speech. Indeed, so little attention had it received, that I had never heard it mentioned except the day it was made, when everyone regretted its personal language, and it would never have seen the light if some evil-disposed person had not published it to defeat the object of the Convention. Mr. Fish came up to us at this moment and remarked that he had not seen it before either. I then bowed myself out. Later I met Gen. Babcock in the Club, and explained the matter to him. He remarked that the President was entirely satisfied with my explanation. Mr. Fish subsequently invited a few of us to a very elegant dinner party, and I am sure Mr. Fish was more disconcerted by the President's bad manners than we were. Speaker Blaine put his private room at our disposal during our entire stay at the Capital, and the Vice-Presidents actual and pro-tem and all the leading Cabinet officers and members of Congress treated us with marked attention. Even Butler was no exception, but, of course, I could not bring myself to call on him, liberal as I am on such occasions.

"Hoping you will excuse this rambling account of our mission to Washington,

"I am,

"Yours truly,

"RICHARD LATHERS."

In spite of this cavalier treatment of our delegation by President Grant, our efforts finally resulted in the expulsion

of the carpet-bag thieves from South Carolina, and the acquirement by the citizens of their Constitutional rights. This was the real reconstruction; the so-called reconstruction of the years immediately succeeding the War having been in reality more destructive than constructive.

My visit to Washington as a bearer of the message of the Taxpayers' Convention occurred in the early spring. The following June I was made an honorary member of the Alumni Association of Williams College, and delivered an address at the Williams Alumni Banquet on "State Rights as Opposed to State Sovereignty." The Charleston *News and Courier* a few days later published an editorial comment on this address which I quote here with a certain satisfaction, I confess, because this paper had been extremely bitter in its attacks upon me at the beginning of the War:

"Col. Lathers continues to be both industrious and zealous in exposing the wrongs of the honest citizens of South Carolina. Last week he delivered an address on the condition of affairs in South Carolina, at the Williams College commencement, in Williamstown, Mass., and was immediately thereafter elected a member of the Alumni Association of the college, which he accepted, he said, as paid to his native State—South Carolina. Thanks to his efforts, the press and the leading public men of New England know what our position is and what is the cause of our troubles. They are in sympathy with us, and that sympathy will be shown actively in due season. Col. Lathers has been suggested, by influential newspapers, as a proper person to fill either of two seats in Congress; that of Mr. Porter of New York, or that of Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts. If so wise a nomination be made, and Col. Lathers should consent to run, the people of the South, and especially the people of South Carolina, may count on having in him, when elected, a staunch defender of their rights, an able and indefatigable exponent of their wrongs, and a consistent champion of constitutional principles and free institutions."

CHAPTER XI

BERKSHIRE HOSPITALITY

In July, 1874, I gave up my Charleston residence in favor of my country place at Pittsfield, to which I have already made a casual reference.

Seven years earlier, in passing through Pittsfield *en route* to the White Mountains, I had stopped over at Arrowhead, a summer residence of my brother-in-law, Allan Melville, and had been so struck with the beauty of the scenery and the salubrity of the climate that I had purchased nine small farms and made them into an estate which I called Abby Lodge, after the Christian name of my wife. It was situated close by a cottage which had formerly been occupied by Oliver Wendell Holmes. It was bounded on the east by Washington Mountain, and was divided into two nearly equal parts by the Housatonic River. Its meadows were adorned with fine, spreading elms (the glory of Berkshire), and its hills with orchards and maple groves. One of the farmhouses, which stood on a hillside above the Housatonic Valley, with views including both the mountains of New York and those of Vermont, I had enlarged into a sort of Italian villa by adding several wings; and these additions made it appear quite imposing to a person viewing it from the railway which ran through the property several hundred feet away and a hundred feet lower down.

On the occasion of my definite removal from Charleston to Pittsfield the Springfield *Republican* published a highly complimentary article which I quote, not for the compliments it contains, but because it gives a better description of Abby Lodge than I could give myself:

"Pittsfield is fortunate in securing as a permanent resident

Col. Richard Lathers, who is making his picturesque little residence the repository of more valuable curiosities in literature and art than can often be found in a private house in this country. Abby Lodge, two miles from town on the east road to Lenox, stands just opposite the old Melville place, on the ground once occupied by J. W. Lull's farm-house, commanding a lovely view of the eastern Housatonic valley and the mountains on three sides. For six years Col. Lathers has found his summer home here, and, each season, has done more or less work on the hundreds of acres which his various purchases include, such as underdraining, cultivating, grading and terracing about the house, adding to and improving the buildings, until, to-day, the residence is one of the completest and most beautiful in all the region. A spacious open porch, separating the new music room from the main part of the house, adds an indescribable charm to the place, while another open-air feature of the house is the way in which the sashes and blinds of the wide eastern windows mysteriously disappear, revealing patches of lovely mountain view, apparently set in neat frames and matching the other pictures on the walls. These landscapes Mr. Lathers calls his original 'old masters' and is having them sketched. Most of the paintings, engravings, books and other treasures which fill the house have been brought from the other summer residence in New Rochelle, N. Y., which has been given up for Pittsfield, and now another addition is building, containing a gallery to receive the most valuable of the Colonel's paintings, which are now at his house in Charleston, S. C. They will be brought to Pittsfield in the spring, Mr. Lathers having disposed also of his Southern home. It would take long to enumerate half the rare treasures which the genial proprietor of this pleasant abode has gathered from all parts of the world. He is an especial lover of old engravings, and, among other rare pieces, has one of Reynolds' portraits of Edmund Burke, the only other copy in the country having been in the collection of Charles Sumner. Mr. Lathers visited Mr. Sumner a short time before the latter's death, when each of them was surprised to learn that

the other owned a copy of this engraving. Mr. Sumner promised to stop at Pittsfield to see his friend's collections when they should be arranged, but died too soon for the fulfillment of the promise. Another large engraving, 100 years old, is that of the golden palace of Nero. Then there are piles of huge volumes of engravings representing all the principal pictures of the different public and private galleries of Europe, as well as engravings and photographs of all the important buildings and objects of interest throughout that continent. Among the literary treasures, perhaps the rarest is a copy of the book of Esther on a roll of thick leather, written in Hebrew, 600 years ago, before the time of printing that language. Other curiosities in the same line are the Breeches Bible, printed in 1599, Raphael's Bible with every principal incident pictured by that artist, and a copy of the fourth edition of Shakespeare. In a corner of the drawing room stands a porcelain table made at the Sèvres factory for Louis Philippe, and containing the pictures of Louis XVI. and his court beauties, burnt in. This was sold in Paris for 2,500 francs, at the time of the disposal of Louis Philippe's effects. In addition to these and a thousand other rarities which fill every table and shelf and meet the eye at every turn, Col. Lathers has just put in the elegant new music room an orchestrion, made in the 'Black Forest' region of Germany, at a cost of $5,000. The walls of the music room are hung thick with choice paintings, and on one side stands a French cabinet of the most exquisite inlaid work, which with the mirror cost $3,000."

One of my nearest neighbors at Pittsfield was Herman Melville, author of the interesting and very original sea tales, "Typee" and "Omoo" (which were among the first books to be published simultaneously in London and New York), and of various other volumes of prose and verse. I visited him often in his well-stocked library, where I listened with intense pleasure to his highly individual views of society and politics. He always provided a bountiful supply of good cider—the product of his own orchard—and of tobacco, in the virtues of which he was a firm believer. Indeed, he prided himself on the in-

scription painted over his capacious fireplace. "I and my chimney smoke together," an inscription which I have seen strikingly verified more than once when the atmosphere was heavy and the wind was east.

Being about halfway between Pittsfield and Lenox, Abby Lodge was a convenient stopping place for my numerous friends in both villages, and for the friends of my friends; and was, besides, by reason of its easy accessibility and wonderful views, a sort of show place for strangers.

I was standing one day on the east piazza with a visitor, whom I will not name, and, vain of my surroundings, was pointing out the various objects of interest. "That," said I, "is Monument Mountain, situated in the State of New York; those mountains to the north are in Vermont; that lovely group twenty-five miles distant is called Saddleback." I paused to note the effect of my words upon my companion. But he was looking fixedly down upon a little stream at the bottom of the terrace and gave no sign of having heard anything I had said. "There," he exclaimed, his eyes sparkling, "is the most luxuriant bed of mint I have ever seen." And, indeed, many a glass of delicious mint julep for which that bed furnished the mint was drunk as a pledge of goodfellowship on the broad piazza of Abby Lodge, in those days, by earnest, double-dyed Abolitionists and Dis-Union slaveholders whom the War had taught a proper toleration for one another's weaknesses and a proper respect for one another's virtues.

One day as David Dudley Field, his brother, Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field, and his daughter and son-in-law (Lady and Sir Anthony Musgrave) were taking their carriages, after a visit at Abby Lodge, an old farmer, one of my neighbors, who chanced to be calling on a matter of business, said, with typical rustic bluntness, "Is that Dudley Field in that carriage?" "Yes," I answered; "do you know him?" "Know him?" said the farmer, "Well, I should think so. He and I have often driven the cows to pasture in his father's fields barefooted, and the old man preached to us Sundays."

A good many years later, while I was in Williamstown with

Mr. Field for an Alumni meeting, he invited me to go with him to the students' quarters. He ran up four flights of stairs just like a boy and knocking at one of the doors informed a couple of young students that he had called to see the room he had occupied a good fifty years before. It was difficult for them to believe that the youthful-looking man before them was a graduate of over half a century.

But to return to Abby Lodge. Among my acquaintances in Berkshire who were frequent visitors at my house were Senator Dawes, Judge and Thomas Colt, Joseph E. A. Smith, Allan Melville, Rev. Dr. Todd, Hon. E. H. Kellogg, Hon. Thomas Allen, Edward Learned, Judge Rockwell, John Kernochan, Gen. Bartlett, Col. Robert Pomeroy, and last but not least, Mrs. Morewood, the charming and cultivated wife of Mr. J. R. Morewood of Broadhall, who established a kind of *salon* for the literary residents of Berkshire and the visiting authors. Mrs. Morewood's patriotic energy in fitting out the soldiers who volunteered in defense of the Union, and in otherwise caring for them, so endeared her to every officer and private that she was buried with the honors of war, and her tomb in the cemetery is annually decorated at the same time as the graves of the soldiers who loved her.

Alas, nearly all these Berkshire friends are now dead, as I found on a recent visit to Pittsfield!

In addition to the almost daily assemblages on the piazza, for which mint julep, tea (if there were ladies), and cigars were all the entertainment ordinarily provided, my family was in the habit of giving dinner parties and receptions to their friends in North and South Adams, Great Barrington, Lenox, Springfield, Lee, Stockbridge, and Williamstown.

One of these receptions, given in honor of the distinguished War-Governor, Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Curtin, brought about an amusing incident. On the day appointed for this reception, the Court at Pittsfield was opened in due form by either Judge Devens (subsequently Attorney-general of the United States) or Chief Justice Morton—I cannot now recall which.

The first case on the calendar being read and the plaintiff's name being called, his counsel rose and requested his Honor to postpone the hearing till the next day as he had an important engagement out of town. The second case was called, but the plaintiff's attorney requested a postponement because he had not fully conferred with his client. The Judge then called up the third case, but a third attorney asked a postponement. This appeared to exhaust the patience of his Honor, who stopped the proceedings, saying, "Gentlemen, this farce has gone far enough. The fact is, the Court and, I believe, the whole Bar, have received invitations to a reception at Abby Lodge, and as the Court feels incompetent to administer justice for the State without its counselors, the Court, therefore, is hereby adjourned till the usual hour to-morrow; and, Mr. Sheriff, you will procure two or three carriages for us and we will all attend this rural *fête* and enjoy a little recreation."

This is, so far as I know, the only instance on record of the adjournment of a Court for the sake of a social function.

Among the guests invited to this *fête* (most of whom were present, as the weather was fine), were: Edward Learned, John Kernochan, Frank Kernochan, Editor Samuel Bowles, Col. Thompson, Hon. Mr. Chapin, Editor Harding, Editor Allen, Bishop Paddock, Bishop Lynch (Roman Catholic) of South Carolina, Rev. Mr. McGlathery, Rev. Dr. Todd, Hon. David Dudley Field, Hon. Samuel J. Randall, Lord Musgrave (Governor of Jamaica), Rev. Dr. Field, Rev. Dr. Pinckney of South Carolina, Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, Allan Melville, Wellington Smith, Hon. Thomas Allen, Judge Colt, Thomas Colt, Col. Pomeroy, Gen. Bartlett, Col. Cutting, Hon. Byron Weston, Frank and James Hinsdale, James D. Crane, D. Marshall Crane, Judge Rockwell, Senator Dawes, Hon. W. H. Plunkett, J. Rowland Morewood, Col. Auchmuty, Editor Jos. E. A. Smith, Theodore Pomeroy, Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D. D., of Richmond, Va., W. S. Blackington, and Judge Robinson.

During my residence in Berkshire I had the good fortune

to become intimate with Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*. Mr. Bowles, although tolerant of the weaknesses and even of the graver defects of his friends, as private individuals, never hesitated to give honestly his opinion of their public acts; and his friends learned to take in good part his castigation of their attempts, as politicians, to carry water on both shoulders. His earnest Republicanism was largely modified by his fine discrimination; and his editorials, which abounded in practical and forcible illustrations, bore a striking resemblance to those of Benjamin Franklin. He had a tender vein in his make-up, and his love of nature and of poetry was so strong as almost to seem incompatible with his duties as a controversial journalist. I recall with much pleasure the many rambles we took together in the country on pleasant Sunday mornings, when his talk was always in perfect harmony with the beauty of our surroundings. Mr. Bowles, Chester W. Chapin (the Railway King of New England), and myself usually contrived to be at Saratoga at the same time, and passed many hours together there discussing politics, finance, and economics.

Mr. Bowles was a reformer of the highest type—a reformer and not a revolutionist. He was an energetic Union man during the War, but after the War, the Union having been saved, he stoutly defended the rights of the South against the policy of his own party. "It has principles," he wrote of his journal; "but they are above mere party success, and to these principles it will devote itself. Whenever and wherever the success of men or of parties can advance these principles and purposes the *Republican* will boldly advocate such success. Whenever men and parties are blind to the triumph of these principles, they will be as boldly opposed and denounced."

The *Republican* was among the first papers to take the field against the abuses of Grant's Administration, and it advocated the election of Horace Greeley, although Mr. Bowles' first choice for that position (and for any and every high office for that matter) was Charles Francis Adams, for whom he had a great and just admiration. Mr. Bowles having chaffed me

one day for giving the Buffalo press a speech for publication in advance of delivery and then delivering quite another for the sake of complimenting Ex-President Fillmore, I retorted that I was merely loyal to my friend, Mr. Fillmore, as he was loyal to his friend, Mr. Adams. "I have recently read in a Western paper," I added, "a remarkable proof of this loyalty of yours to Mr. Adams." I then quoted the following: "Our brother Bowles is a hard-working editor and his Saturday night duties largely deprive him of his proper rest. Consequently, he not infrequently makes up for his lost sleep by taking a nap in church on Sunday. On one such occasion, the minister preached a sermon on the Last Judgment in which he presented the terrors of the Day of Doom most graphically, closing with this vociferous interrogation: 'Who will be able to stand in that great day?' This appeal aroused the sleeping editor, who, after rubbing his eyes, arose with great deliberation and in a most emphatic tone replied: 'Charles Francis Adams! And I nominate him for the position!!!'"

Mr. Bowles laughed heartily at the story, but said that he had not seen it in any of his exchanges.

CHAPTER XII

AGRICULTURE AND POLITICS

In October, 1875, I delivered an address on "Agriculture" before the Deerfield Agricultural Society, most of the members of which were intelligent farmers. I called attention to the venerableness and honorableness of farming, made an appeal for a general system of agricultural instruction, and advocated smaller farms, intensive cultivation, and the use of artificial manures. Although some of my hearers took exception to my advocacy of artificial manures, my farming talk was very well received on the whole, because it was evident that what I said was based on my own experience as a practical farmer. During all the time I was President of the Great Western, I had set apart one day each week as "a day in the country." For a great many years I had sent large quantities of hay from my New Rochelle estate into the New York Hay Market, on Third Avenue near the Bull's Head Tavern; and for nearly a decade I had worked the nine farms constituting Abby Lodge, selling a considerable amount of hay, rye, straw, cider, and potatoes in Pittsfield and Lenox, and sending a carload of milk twice a week to New York City from my dairy, for which I had imported Alderney cattle.

In 1879 I spoke on "Journalism and Journalists" before the editors and reporters of Berkshire County. This talk was necessarily more theoretical than my talk on farming, since I did not have a fund of practical experience to draw upon. But my intimate association with journalists had given me a pretty fair understanding of their trade and of their point of view.

In the presidential campaign of 1876 I spoke frequently in behalf of the Tilden and Hendricks ticket, particularly in the Berkshire district.

I became acquainted with Mr. Tilden a number of years after coming to New York from the South, and I met him often during a long period at political gatherings of more or less importance, in which he was generally the most prominent figure and the most influential adviser. He was not only a shrewd business man and a lawyer of great ability, but a lover of literature and art, a classical scholar, and a student of science. His fine library of rare and standard books was not a collection got together merely for display. That he made good use of his books the broad range and high character of his speeches and writings afford ample proof.

His ornate residence was located within a block of that of my mother-in-law at No. 7 Bond Street, where I made my home on the frequent occasions when I was detained in the city over night by social or political engagements. On one of these occasions Mr. Tilden accompanied me to my door, as it lay on his way. He was in the midst of one of his most attractive disquisitions on government as I rang the bell, but he declined to go into the house, because it was late, and continued to enlarge upon his theme, holding my hand, a habit he had when he was talking earnestly. We remained there nearly half an hour exposed to a cold, bleak wind, which caused both speaker and listener to wake up with a severe attack of influenza the next morning.

One summer, at Saratoga, I often sat with Mr. Tilden at table in the dining room of the United States Hotel. This attracted the attention of the newspaper reporters, who, of course, were unwilling to believe that I was unable to give them any valuable personal information about Mr. Tilden. To prove to them my reticence regarding any subject that could be of interest to them as journalists, I gave them, one day, an exact reproduction of our conversation.

This conversation included innumerable details as to the value of our corn crop, various observations on the great advantage it would be to our country if we could induce foreign countries to utilize our enormous agricultural production in feeding their half-starving populace, and last, but by no means least, a re-

ceipt for making cornbread. Of course the gentlemen of the press shut up their notebooks quite disgusted, and left me. Later, a couple of female reporters begged me to introduce them to Mr. Tilden, for whom they professed great admiration. To this I readily assented. The next day they called on me to say that my friend, instead of imparting information regarding public affairs, talked only of social abstractions, and kept the hand of one of them, to her great annoyance, during the entire interview. I comforted this lady by saying that this habit of Mr. Tilden's had no connection with gallantry, since he was accustomed to keep my hand in the same manner when engaged in earnest conversation with me.

I recall with great vividness being at the residence of Mr. Tilden with Wilson G. Hunt, John T. Agnew and several others when a telegram was received from Mr. Hewitt, then at Washington, announcing that a compromise agreement had been made to submit the question of the electoral vote to an ex-officio commission.

Mr. Tilden, on reading the telegram, remarked to the company in his customary non-committal way, "I have not been consulted in this matter." After a pause, he added, "I do not approve of this unconstitutional manner of disposing of the suffrages of the people of this country. Yet I am not disposed to hazard the peace of the country by prolonging this partisan contest in my own interest as a candidate."

The truth is, Mr. Tilden was a man of the purest character, and a most disinterested patriot. It is well known that some of his over-ardent political friends began a serious negotiation with a noted carpet-bag leader of South Carolina for the purchase of a portion of the electoral vote of that State, excusing themselves by saying that they were only fighting the Devil with fire. Mr. Tilden sternly rebuked the negotiations as soon as they came to his knowledge, firmly declining to countenance such a transaction in any form or under any pretext; and the carpet-bagger who had come to New York for this dishonorable purpose went back to South Carolina sadly disappointed.

Another Presidential candidate in this strangely complicated

political campaign of 1876 was Peter Cooper, a man of great force of character and of many talents, who will be longest remembered for his wise philanthropies. I chanced to be calling on him one day soon after his nomination when a ward committee paid him a visit, nominally to congratulate him but really to inform him that funds would be needed in their ward. Mr. Cooper promptly told them that he was averse to contributing money to influence voters, but that he had had a large quantity of Greenback arguments printed for his supporters to distribute; and he straightway produced a pile of pamphlets with which he filled their pockets. I remained with Mr. Cooper a few moments after the departure of the ward committee, and when I went out I found his pamphlets strewn broadcast over the sidewalks.

I recall here an anecdote which Mr. Cooper loved to relate of his early ventures in railroading in New Jersey. He had constructed a locomotive in which he had great faith, and wishing to get it before the public he invited a large number of persons to witness its speed. To this meeting came an old farmer who was very outspoken in his criticisms of the new-fangled machine, and who offered to bet ten dollars that with his old mare harnessed into his buggy he would reach the next village, ten miles distant, before the locomotive. The bet was taken up and the race began. The mare was soon distanced by the locomotive, but at the end of the first mile the locomotive broke down. While it was being repaired, the mare overtook and passed it. The locomotive started again, and again distanced the mare, but again it broke down, and again the mare overtook and passed it. This happened so many times that the mare won the race by nearly a mile, to the great joy of the old farmer, the great mortification of Mr. Cooper, and the great amusement of all the spectators.

And now that I am gossiping about political candidates, it would seem to be as good a time as any to introduce my own solitary political venture.

In the summer of 1877 I was solicited by friends in both political parties to permit my name to be used as a candidate

for the State Senate, to represent the counties of Rockland, Putnam, Westchester, and the two lower wards of the City of New York. While I was flattered naturally by this request, I refused at first to accede to it. I had been somewhat active, it is true, for over thirty years in public affairs in South Carolina, Massachusetts, and New York (especially in Westchester County), and had been a delegate to several political conventions; but, having a repugnance to holding office, I had uniformly declined to consider any of the candidacies, local, State, and congressional, regarding which I had been approached in both the South and the North. I saw no reason for incurring the expense and enduring the turmoil of a political canvass for an office for which I did not really care. I realized that my fixed ideas of public policy and my independence of the canal, railroad, and other corrupt rings of the State would render me very unpopular with a large element in both parties. I was unwilling, furthermore, to antagonize my friend Judge Robertson, who had filled the position acceptably for many years.

I received one day, however, a call from Judge Robertson, who saluted me, to my great surprise, as his successor in the Senate, adding, "You have heard, of course, that I have positively declined to serve any longer in that body, as my law business will need my whole attention in the future, and I desire that you should be my successor, as no Republican can be elected in the district this year." This downright renunciation of his senatorship by the Judge, coupled with the urgings of my friends, which were persistent and persuasive, finally decided me to let my name be used, and I was nominated unanimously by the convention assembled in Rockland County.

A short time after my interview with Judge Robertson I was seated in the barroom of the United States Hotel at Saratoga with Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer, the President of the Senate, when the Judge came up, and, after shaking hands with us both, said: "Dorsheimer, I want to introduce you to my successor." Mr. Dorsheimer immediately replied: "Now, Judge, that is one of your jokes at the expense of my friend.

You know your party will not permit you to retire." The Judge then became serious and said: "No party can make me do a dishonorable thing. I even induced Col. Lathers, I think, to consent to a nomination. I wanted him to succeed me in the Senate, as no Republican could, at this time, be elected, and I am certain he would not have permitted himself to be nominated if I had not informed him that I had declined and desired his success."

It is due to Judge Robertson to say that I believe that this declaration was made by him in perfect good faith. But the Republican nominating convention, after several futile attempts to select a candidate, adjourned and appointed a committee who waited on him and insisted on his "saving the party" from a defeat which might make the State Senate (which would participate in the election of a U. S. Senator) Democratic; he finally consented to run. We conducted the campaign in the most friendly manner, and we always remained friends. In the course of the campaign I received letters of congratulation and encouragement from many quarters. The three following, in particular, gave me real pleasure as coming from persons for whom I entertained the highest respect:

"Irvington-on-the-Hudson, Oct. 19th, 1877.

"My Dear Mr. Lathers:

"I notice with pleasure that you have accepted the nomination for the Senatorship in our district. Your long residence in Westchester has enabled you to become particularly familiar with the wants of our county, and your oft-expressed views on the great requirement of the day, rapid transit, makes it a matter of the first importance to the residents of Westchester that you be elected. The friendly relations that have existed between us for so many years, render it impossible for me to allow the present opportunity to pass without expressing my sincere wishes for your success.

"I remain, my dear Mr. Lathers,

"Very truly your friend,

"Cyrus W. Field."

"New York, Oct. 29, 1877.

"Hon Richard Lathers:

"*My Dear Sir:*—I learn with much gratification that you have consented to be a candidate for the Senate in your district. It is an encouragement to good men everywhere when a gentleman of your eminence in business and your general capacity agrees to undertake a share of the burden of carrying on government and brings to the work such high qualifications. I sincerely hope that you will be triumphantly elected.

"Very truly yours,

"Samuel J. Tilden."

"Utica, Oct. 27, 1877.

"Hon. Richard Lathers:

"*Dear Sir:*—I am surprised to learn that attacks have been made upon you with regard to your course during the War with the South. Certainly no man had more to brave and endure than you had. If the men of the South had heeded your words they and our country would have been saved from the terrible evils which have afflicted them. When the War was over, your personal knowledge of Southern men enabled you to give them advice, which they now see they ought to have taken. I know of no one who has stronger claims upon our people than you have, for your efforts to avert war, to uphold the Union when it came, and to restore good will between the States when the War was ended. I congratulate you that your character is so good with your neighbors that your assailants are forced to get up charges so remote as to time and place. It shows that they must go a great way back and a great way off to invent something which will not be untrue upon its face.

"I am

"Truly Yours, &c.,

"Horatio Seymour."

The felicitations of the political workers who had been the most active in opposing my nomination were among the first to arrive. This circumstance reminded me forcibly of the

slogan of the "bummers" of the Civil War period—"The old flag and an appropriation!"—for these felicitations were almost invariably accompanied by a polite request for a liberal contribution to the election funds of Tammany and of each of the Democratic county associations. As nearly as I can recall, each county association expected $1,000, and Tammany (as representing that part of the Senatorial district embraced within the city limits) $800. Each town organization, also, put forward claims, and the individual solicitors and workers at the polls had to be liberally provided for. Besides, the prominent lager beer saloons were not to be overlooked. Clubs were formed, of course, some of which honored the candidate by appropriating his name and displaying it prominently on lanterns and banners; and common courtesy demanded that these clubs should be remembered in a substantial manner. Many hundreds of dollars had to be devoted to printing the candidate's name in big letters on big banners to be hung out of Democratic windows, and for placards to be posted on fences and vacant houses. Mrs. Lathers was the recipient of many letters addressed to her as "the pious wife of a patriotic candidate," from persons who announced their intention of giving their own support and that of their friends to her husband, and who casually called her attention to the fact that their church needed a new carpet and a new organ and that their church roof and steeple were sadly in want of repairs.

One night during the campaign a late competitor for the nomination, waxing confidential under several glasses of good whisky, said: "Do you know, Colonel, I am now glad I did not get the nomination? My friends agreed to lend me $2,500 towards the campaign expenses, but I might have been beaten by the Judge, and in that case, not having the advantage of the senatorial patronage, I would have been unable to repay the loan."

The truth is, many unsuccessful candidates for office, as well as our public officials, have been obliged to contract in their campaigning heavy obligations which have crippled them for years.

Previous to the meeting of the nominating convention I delivered an anniversary address before some two thousand members of an agricultural society. While I was dining with its President immediately afterwards, he said to me: "Your speech was greatly enjoyed because it dealt so practically with the details of farming, and also because of its entire freedom from politics. We were all agreeably surprised, because it is very rare that the speeches on these occasions are not devoted to politics." He then said that he proposed to support me at the nominating convention and bring many of his friends, and intimated that it might be well to make some provision for carriages, since many of my supporters lived too far away from the county town to walk thither. When I asked him what the expense would be he replied: "About fifty dollars." I immediately handed him a hundred, remarking that I wanted it understood by this promptness, at which he appeared rather surprised, that I did not permit anyone to contract political debts for me; notwithstanding this caution, my rural friend soon after the nomination informed me that he had a balance against me of six hundred dollars for the transportation and refreshment of my friends and supporters, explaining that it was necessary "to give the boys a good time." Of course, the money had to be paid, with many thanks for the thoughtfulness of so zealous a supporter.

I was much criticised by the practical politicians (especially those who were the minions of certain of the disappointed candidates for the nomination) because I did not carry on the campaign with sufficient energy—energy being synonymous in their minds with visiting all the saloons and drinking there with the roughs. The following editorial, headed "Anti-Tammany against Tammany," from a prominent rural Democratic organ, voices this complaint:

"Richard Lathers, the Democratic nominee for State Senator, has been waiting for two weeks for something; he has found it (the nomination of Judge Robertson), and will perhaps go to work. It seems he is one of those who expects

everybody to work for him, while he luxuriates at his ease in the Manhattan Club with the nomination in his pocket. As a candidate for office Richard Lathers is an abortion, as he is a dead weight to his party by reason of his imbecility in political management. This being the fact we cannot find fault with the action of the so-called Anti-Tammany organization for the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards in taking a stand in favor of endorsing the nomination of the Hon. William H. Robertson for State Senator. . . . Democrats give up the fight in this Senatorial district because they find themselves overloaded with a candidate who will not make a *practical* canvass. He appears to think being a candidate is sufficient, and, if he is satisfied, we must be; as we cannot change the situation. For these reasons we cannot object to the Anti-Tammany Democratic Organization of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards coming to the front in favor of an Anti-Tammany nomination for State Senator."

A nervous person should not run for office. The abuse of the opposition papers in a political campaign should be disregarded. Still, there is a limit to endurance; the last pound, as the saying goes, breaks the camel's back. Not content with assailing my loyalty during the War, and with asserting that I flew the Rebel Palmetto flag from my tower at Winyah Park once a week (said Palmetto flag being in reality a dainty piece of white silk bearing an embroidered anchor which the young ladies of the Bolton Priory raised when they were picknicking in the park) the New York *Times* charged me with being a rowdy, a common bruiser of New Rochelle, well known to the police of New York, in contradistinction to Judge Robertson, who was a moral and pious deacon of the church at White Plains.

Being on the best of terms with the proprietor of the *Times,* Mr. Jones, with whom I had but recently traveled in Europe, I called on him and expostulated against the scurrility of this last attack, to which my wife and family were extremely sensitive, although undisturbed by legitimate political comments.

Mr. Jones at once seized me by the hand, and with great fervor assured me of his friendship, explaining that he had not observed the article referred to. He took me into the sub-editor's room, and warned several of the staff there against this and all other such attacks on moral character. The next week the abusive articles continued in the same strain, though their form was a little more guarded. Years after, I met at the Arlington Hotel, Washington, a very attractive man, who, being a correspondent of several journals, wrote till late into the night and took breakfast while I was lunching. One morning, as I took my seat at the table, he was in such earnest conversation with a friend that he paid no attention to my arrival. They were talking of the New York gubernatorial nomination. One of the two said, "Why not nominate Robertson of Westchester?" "Oh," said the other, "he is not strong enough. Lathers really defeated him for the Senate, but we counted him out with the assistance of Fairchild, the Democratic Attorney-general, whom we captured." At this point I interrupted them by saying, "Gentlemen, I don't want to be an eavesdropper, I am Lathers." My journalist acquaintance jumped right up with glee, and said, "Are you the Dick Lathers I was directed to abuse twice a week for a month during Judge Robertson's canvass? How well I recall the mock indignation of Editor Jones as he ordered in your presence the attacks to be discontinued!" We drank a glass of champagne together, and in bidding them good-by, I said, "I hope you will advocate the nomination of my friend, Judge Robertson. We have never had the least enstrangement. I would prefer him for Governor of our State, unless we can have a Democrat."

The counting out above referred to was not a myth. I was not only elected, but received my credentials by the unanimous decision of the inspectors of the three counties and this entitled me to a seat in the Senate. The adverse opinion of the Attorney-general, who had virtually manufactured law, could not prevent me from taking my seat. But Judge Parker and other friends advised me not to run the risk of being ultimately

unseated by a partisan vote during the session and I took their advice. This was a mistake on my part, as was proved by the failure of the House of Representatives to unseat Mr. Purdy of the First District of Westchester County, the validity of whose election had likewise been denied at the same time and for the same reason by the Attorney-general.

It is a curious coincidence that the law which the Attorney-general declared unconstitutional in order to further his own ends had been passed at the suggestion of Senator Robertson, who naturally could not foresee that it would one day be invoked against himself.

During the years 1878 to 1882 I devoted considerable attention to an attempt (unsuccessful as the event proved) to secure for the marine underwriters their just dues under the Geneva Award, and I prepared and circulated with that end in view, a pamphlet treating of the subject. As far back as 1868, while I was still President of the Great Western, I had begun to take an active interest in the settlement of the Alabama claims. Dining one day, in that year, with Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister, who expressed some apprehension that the Alabama matter might lead to a dangerous controversy between Great Britain and the United States, I remarked that it seemed to me that if Her Majesty's Government would permit the American underwriters, who had suffered loss by the Confederate cruisers, to negotiate directly with the British authorities, as underwriters had hitherto been permitted to do, there would be but little left to be settled as an international question. Sir Edward at once replied that the proposition seemed feasible, and that he would write to London on the subject.

Being in Washington again a few weeks later, I was informed by Sir Edward that the British Government was disposed to entertain the proposition if the underwriters could obtain the consent of the American Government.

I called at once on President Grant, and related the whole conversation to him. The President replied that whatever might have been the practice between underwriters and for-

eign powers in times of peace, it could not be followed in a case like this one, and he further pointed out that there existed a special statute forbidding, under severe penalties, any attempt of a citizen to negotiate personally with a foreign power while the Government was engaged in a negotiation.

But my suggestion was not without its influence upon the final result, which was the award of $15,000,000 to the United States in consideration of the private claims; the claims of damages by the United States Government, as such, being denied by the Court.

While the discussion of the manner in which the distribution of the funds of the Geneva Award should be made was in progress, I had an encounter with Gen. Butler before the Judiciary Committee of Congress. It is well known that Gen. Butler (as well as several other New England members of Congress) and some of his constituents were interested financially in the result, and he opposed most aggressively every effort to have the matter referred to the Court of Government Claims. In this opposition he used his favorite weapons of annoyance and abuse very freely, so freely, in fact, that Mr. Evarts refused to appear before the Committee.

But I was so confident of the justice of the underwriters' claim, and so certain of the corrupt methods being used by those opposing it, that I determined to confront the General and his impertinence, and "to fight the Devil with fire," as the saying goes.

Butler requested the Committee to refuse to hear me unless he were present, a proceeding which proclaimed him not a simple member of a legislative committee, but a paid attorney of the opponents of the underwriters. This courtesy on the part of the Committee delayed the hearing several days, as the General did not choose to attend their meetings. When, at last, I was permitted to appear before the Committee, I was informed that I could have but twenty minutes in which to address them, and this limited time was encroached upon by constant interruptions and questions from Butler. Looking earnestly at the Chairman, therefore, I said, "Mr. Chair-

man, we all know that the gentleman from Massachusetts is a modest and thoughtful man, who hesitates to interrupt a timid speaker before so august a body as this. May I ask the indulgence of the Chair to have my seat removed nearer the General so that he can just touch me on the elbow and I will stop till he is heard." This evoked uproarious laughter at Butler's expense. I continued, "Mr. Chairman, I am intensely in earnest in this request." The Chairman replied, "Perhaps the member to the right of General Butler will exchange seats with the speaker," with which suggestion said gentleman was kind enough to concur. Then, gathering up my notes and papers with the greatest deliberation, I took advantage of the good humor of the Committee, whose sympathy I seemed to have won, by asking that, owing to the interruptions made by the member, I might have my time extended. It was moved, in the midst of great hilarity, that my time should be extended one hour.

General Butler's next interruption was a request that I describe the process of the importation of a cargo of hemp from Calcutta. To this I replied that the member was fully informed as to the use of hemp for the Rebels, but did not understand the mode of its importation and its relations to insurance as well as I. I expounded at some length the bearing of such insurance on the question at issue, and, touching the General on the elbow, inquired whether my statement was convincing. He, with some temper, retorted, "I don't want you to touch me in that way." I explained that I was a plain man and that this was my manner of accentuating my replies, but that if this gesture was disagreeable to the member I would refrain. The General also objected to my frequent references to his military record. I contended that such references were quite in harmony with the hazards of insurance, and that it was evident from the favor with which the Committee received them that it so regarded them. In short, the General, perceiving that my auditors were sympathetic, ceased to annoy me, and I was able to convince the Committee that the underwriters were entitled to have their claims referred

by Congress to the Court of Claims. The Committee reported accordingly, but, for reasons which may not be gone into here, they were never allowed to be presented to that Court.

General Butler was brave and energetic, but so thoroughly unscrupulous that he was unable to retain the confidence of any political party. He was unable to get himself re-elected Governor of Massachusetts, even with his own Party in power. As a lawyer, he was employed only in cases where assurance was the one thing needful. Indeed, there was much objection to his being invited, in accordance with time-honored usage, to attend as Governor of the State the Annual Commencement at Williams College. On that occasion, as an honorary member of the Alumni, I occupied a seat on the platform with him. With his customary impudence, he devoted his address mainly to urging the graduates, most of whom were dissenters, to attach themselves to the true and ancient Episcopal Church, with which he had finally connected himself, after having passed through most of the denominations of dissent.

The close of the year 1879 brought me the sad news of the death of one of my dearest Southern friends, Henry Gourdin.

Henry Gourdin was a successful merchant and a typical Carolina gentleman. After the Civil War he became one of the most energetic promoters of reconciliation between the estranged sections. Then, as before the War, every visitor to Charleston of any note was a recipient of the generous hospitality of Henry Gourdin and his brother Robert in their beautiful bachelor home on the South Battery, which possessed the best-stocked wine cellar in the State. I recall with much pleasure the frequent dinner parties given by them not only to prominent Southerners, but to celebrities from the North and from Europe, occasions at which good-fellowship reigned supreme and into which no sectional, political, or religious prejudice was allowed to intrude. Here I met on the very eve of the Civil War, Gen. Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, and Gen. Beauregard, who conducted the attack upon the Fort.

It makes me inexpressibly sad to think that the scores of statesmen, clergymen, military men, and merchants who gave character to Charleston have nearly all, like these two bachelor brothers, passed away; and a long interval must elapse, I greatly fear, before their places will be filled.

I believe in young men; and, if the rising young Charlestonians are encouraged, they may in time become the worthy successors of the Gourdins and of the galaxy of public-spirited men who co-operated with them in developing the city—George Trenholm, Samuel Y. Tupper, Henry Connor, Robert B. Rhett, Richard Yeadon, W. A. Courtney, George F. Bryan, James L. Petigru, D. L. McKay, A. G. Rose, Alexander Robinson, James Adger, Theodore Wagner, George W. Williams, Alfred Huger and C. T. Loundes. It is depressing, however, to witness the inertness of mercantile life in the Charleston of to-day; the more depressing that it cannot be entirely attributed to the War, from which Savannah, although possessed of inferior natural advantages and less capital, has splendidly recovered. Unfortunately, the wealth of Charleston is invested elsewhere, and it is upon the capitalists of Baltimore and other cities that Charlestonians seem to depend for local improvements. For the sake of the future of the city, it is to be hoped that the young Charleston financiers and merchants will soon call home the capital now invested elsewhere, and that they will follow the lead of Henry Gourdin in endeavoring to develop one of the best harbors on the Atlantic coast and in re-establishing direct commercial connection with the West.

I love to recall old Charleston with its wharves crowded with vessels flying the flags of all the countries of the world; its huge stone and brick warehouses filled with foreign merchandise imported for distribution over the Western States; and its bales of cotton and casks of rice and Western and interior products which seemed to cover every inch of available open space along the banks of Cooper River.

Alas, the change!

CHAPTER XIII

MEN AND MANNERS AT HOME AND ABROAD

March 23, 1881, I sailed for Europe on the same ship with Rev. Theodore Cuyler, D. D. I quote here a portion of Dr. Cuyler's description of the voyage, which is to be found in a volume of travels entitled "From the Nile to Norway."

"It was a raw March morning on which the stout ship Bothnia threw off her lines, and a cutting wind smote in the faces of the kind friends who gave us a parting cheer. The russet hills of Staten Island slowly disappeared, then the pasteboard of Manhattan Beach; then we passed the life-ship and we were out on the great wide sea. It has not grown much narrower since I crossed it in the packet ship Patrick Henry, thirty-eight years ago, when I was a college youth; but steam has put a carpeted cabin across the waves in half the time. The Bothnia is not famous for speed, but she is spacious, stout and sociable. Captain McKay's genial face throws a sunshine on her deck on the darkest morning, and Engineer Brown's violin can make the roughest night merry as a Christmas Feast. We have four hundred and twenty feet for promenade and a very genial company to keep step with in our daily walk. The steamer runs as true as a clock and hardly varied from three hundred and twenty miles a day after we left Sandy Hook.

"At the Captain's table we have Gen. Richmond (Consul at Rome), Col. Richard Lathers, the Hon. Mr. Maxwell and several other good sailors, who put in an appearance at every meal. My kind friend, Mr. Howard Gibb, a Broadway merchant, presided at the opposite table; for he has crossed so often in the Bothnia that he has the freedom of the ship.

"The most enjoyable time on board, is the evening. Then a party of us assemble in Purser Wallace's room, and the Captain tells his full share of the lively stories which keep the room in a roar. [Here the doctor omits the most attractive part of these social gatherings, namely his own interesting personal reminiscences and his marvelous readings from the poems of Robert Burns.]

"Later in the evening we adjourn to the room of Chief-Engineer Brown, who is a typical Scotchman worthy of a place in one of Sir Walter's romances. Brown is not only a staunch Presbyterian, but is master of the violin, and the sight of him as he is pouring forth such old Scotch melodies as *Bonnie Doon, John Anderson my Jo,* and *Come Under my Plaidie,* accompanied by the flute of Col. Richard Lathers, reminds one of the Last Minstrel when he played before Duchess in old Branksome Tower. He puts his whole soul into the instrument whether the strains be grave or gay. So popular are his performances, that his cabin is packed and some of the ladies are glad to join our party and enjoy these delightful nichts wi Burns. More than one of my clerical brethren have lively remembrances of the Scotch stories and strains of Highland melody in the cosy room of Engineer Brown. . . .

"Last Sabbath was a day of storm. I fear that but few of our passengers greeted the morning with the familiar lines 'Welcome sweet day of rest.' The deck was spattered with rain and washed with the stray seas that climbed over the bow. Only one-half of the passengers were able to join with the Captain and crew at the morning service in the main saloon; even some of these beat a hasty retreat before the services were over. While the sailors were standing up to sing the Psalter to old 'Dundee,' they swayed to and fro like pendulums, and while I was preaching I had to hold on with both hands to the table. My theme was the four anchors which Paul's shipmates threw out during the tempestuous voyage to Rome. . . . The old English liturgy is the common vehicle of devotion at all the services of the vessels. We all meet on

the common ground of the Apostle's Creed, the Psalter and Chrysostom's sweet, simple prayer; and as staunch a Presbyterian as my Scotch friend, Mr. Hugh Sterling, could join in the responses as heartily as my Episcopal neighbor, Col. Richard Lathers. On shore I prefer voluntary extemporaneous devotions; at sea I can appreciate Professor Hitchcock's arguments for a Book of Common Prayer."

Some fifteen years after this ocean voyage in the company of this "godly and broad-minded, eloquent dissenter," as we churchmen call Dr. Cuyler, I attended Dr. Cuyler's celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday. His parlors were filled by the *élite* of Brooklyn and New York. The Catholic Church was represented by Father Sylvester Malone, who, a few years before, had celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his faithful pastorate over another Brooklyn congregation, on which occasion Protestants had assembled with Catholics to offer hearty congratulations. I particularly enjoyed hearing these two venerable and popular representatives of widely different creeds felicitating each other. My association with such men as Dr. Cuyler has deeply impressed on me the soundness of the poet's lines

> "For forms of faith let graceless zealots fight,
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

But to return to my European trip.

While my daughters and I were breakfasting in the coffee-room of a Dublin hotel, preparatory to taking the steamer to England, we had for a table companion an English "wholesale pedlar" (as the commercial traveler is called), very pompous and very brusque. Having heard him give directions about his baggage for the steamer, I politely asked him the time the vessel would sail. Taking from his vest pocket an eyeglass and placing it in his right eye, a habit of these vulgar fellows when they wish to treat a person with scorn, he replied, "There is the waiter, Sir, he can inform you." On the steamer the magnificent traveler ostentatiously bestowed

his wraps and his satchel on the seat next to mine. As we passed the beautiful island of Anglesea, I pointed out to my daughters the different features of the landscape and expressed a regret that the fine villa of the owner of the island, whom I called by name, was not in sight. A middle-aged gentleman, accompanied by two young ladies, who was seated near us, approached and, touching his broad-brimmed hat, politely remarked, "Pardon the liberty I take, but as you are strangers admiring the coast, I desire to correct your mistake as to the occupancy of that island; it is the residence of the Marchioness ————, my sister, and not of the distinguished gentleman you named." This opened the way for a pleasant conversation, from which I learned that my interlocutor had visited New York and was a friend of Mr. George B. Dorr and Mr. George Clinton, both of whom I knew well.

Just before the steamer arrived, he said to me, "Perhaps, during your stay in London you would like to visit our Clubs," and taking a large card from his card-case he wrote something in pencil upon it. I took the card, thanking him for his courtesy, and put it carelessly in my pocket, for I had begun to fear he was making sport of me. That a man who seemed to be cumbered with canes, fishing-rods, blankets, satchels, and other hand baggage, and who was so little of an aristocrat in appearance, should be the brother of a marchioness, the President of the Yacht Club on his way to join the fleet at Cowes, and a member of prominent London clubs, strained somewhat my credulity. I noticed, however, that when he and his daughters walked forward to see to their heavy baggage, they were met by a liveried servant, who relieved them of their innumerable bundles and conducted them to a private carriage, which was in waiting at the end of the wharf; and this convinced me that he was at least no ordinary impostor. While I was still trying to decide whether I had been fooled or not, the impertinent "wholesale pedlar," who had contrived to keep within hearing distance during my conversation with the stranger, came up and, touching his hat in the most obsequious manner, said, "Excuse me, Sir, but I perceive that you are

not aware of the honor you have enjoyed. Please examine the card you put in your pocket without looking at it." I replied, "This is quite unnecessary, for the culture and deportment of the person with whom I was talking just now are sufficient evidence that he is a gentleman."

I looked at the card, however, after I had got rid of this vulgar fellow. It bore an engraved coat of arms and other insignia of family and official distinction, the name "Earl of Orkney," as I remember, and a penciled introduction of Mr. Richard Lathers of New York to three of the leading clubs of London.

As the above incident indicates, there is no more agreeable, thoughtful, and sincere a man in the world than the cultivated Englishman; on the other hand, there is no more annoying and disgusting a man than the toadying, uncultivated Englishman.

On reaching London, I presented the Earl of Orkney's card at the different clubs, but it procured simply permission to visit, accompanied by a servant, the more public rooms on a single occasion. Indeed, exclusiveness, as I afterwards learned, is the prime feature of this class of clubs, and one needs even more official influence to enter them than is required to secure a card to the Queen's drawing room. It is even said that a member of an aristocratic London club was once disciplined because he spoke to a new member without a personal introduction.

It is just possible that our New York clubs, like the parlors of our "four hundred," are more accessible to aggressive foreigners than to our own people. However this may be, it is certain that the clubs of London do not reciprocate the courtesies extended to their members by the clubs of New York.

Here is a case in point.

Just before I sailed from New York, the Secretary of the Lotos Club (which had always been famous for its lavish entertainment of visiting Englishmen), gave me a letter of introduction as a director of the Club to the President of the

Savage Club of London. He specially requested me to present this letter and to avail myself of the privileges of the Savage Club, the large number of persons who had recently come to the Lotos with introductions from that body having become almost burdensome by reason of their long stays (involving constant applications for extensions of time) and their exacting temperaments.

I presented myself several times at the Club House in London without being able to find any person of higher authority than the clerk, who appeared to be merely a sort of caterer for the chop house attached to the Club, where a hasty, economical lunch, practically limited to mutton chops, potatoes, and beer, could be obtained during business hours. This worthy informed me that I might order refreshments, to be paid for on delivery, in the chop house, a privilege of which I availed myself occasionally; but I could get access to no Club officer, and was accorded none of the other privileges of the Club. At last, however, I met one of the officers, who informed me that he had had the honor of being a guest of the Lotos Club, and would be happy to extend the courtesies of the Savage Club to a director of the Lotos. He said that the Club proposed to make an excursion to Calais, France, the following Sunday, and that, on the payment of a guinea in advance, a ticket good for the round trip and for a dinner at Calais would be given me. I did as he directed, secured my ticket and met the excursion party at the railroad station at the appointed hour, but was not introduced there to a single member of the Club. I found an American member, however, who explained that official introductions of this kind were not very common. He promised to look out for me, but was not able to do very much, by reason of his previous engagements with his friends, and on both the cars and the steamer I was practically alone.

On reaching Calais we marched two abreast up to the City Hall, where the Mayor addressed us in French and our President responded in the same language. The Frenchmen complained that our President's French was so "classical" that

they did not understand it, and, of course, most of us did not understand either him or the Mayor. But we all understood and enjoyed uncorking the bottles of champagne which were provided. This ceremony over, we were informed that dinner would be served in a hall of the railway station at four o'clock, and that till then we were at liberty to occupy our time as we pleased. It was explained, further, that after dinner there would be fireworks in the public garden, to which the entrance fee would be moderate, and that the cabins of the steamer would be open at twelve o'clock for our return; but that, to prevent confusion, no one would be permitted to enter them until that hour. This program was most inconvenient for me. I did not desire to see the fireworks, being already quite disgusted with the treatment I was receiving as a guest of the Club, and I wished to retire early. But there was no help for it.

My American acquaintance went off with his friends to enjoy a bath, and I wandered around the town alone till the dinner hour.

When I entered the hall in which the dinner was to be held, I found it filled with temporary tables made of trestles covered with floor planking, and on these decidely uneven surfaces the cloths were laid. The seats were benches, most of which had been constructed, like the tables, by laying planks on trestles, and these benches were all occupied. Being unable to procure a seat, I waited till my American acquaintance and his party, who were late, returned from their bath, when a fresh supply of lumber was brought in with which we constructed more tables and benches; but we had to do without tablecloths, the supply of which was exhausted. The banquet consisted of plain, substantial food, served with good wines, coffee, and cigars. It was partaken of with great hilarity, and was supplemented by speeches which may have been highly entertaining to those who were French scholars (even the English speakers spoke in French), but which were anything but entertaining to those of us who were not. Late in the dinner, the guest from the sister club in New York was

told that he would be expected to respond to a toast of his Club, but the party broke up before the American toast was reached.

On our arrival in London, I was kindly asked by the President, who had not approached me before, if I had enjoyed my visit to the rare old city of Calais.

Later on, partly in consequence of this incident (which it afforded me great glee to relate at the Lotos on my return to New York), the attempt at reciprocity between the Savage Club and the Lotos Club was practically abandoned, and I cannot honestly say that I was sorry thereat.

Many of the English visitors to the United States are most desirable in all respects as guests and, in their country homes, dispense a return hospitality which makes us all in love with English social life. The American in London who presents proper letters to his banker, may find the latter rather bluff in his counting-room; but when he takes him to his suburban villa and dons the regulation dress-coat for dinner, he is a prince in deportment, and, better still, the cultivated and engaging head of a genial, refined family.

I recall my first visit to Todmorden, near Manchester, the country-seat of Thomas Fielding, Esq., to whom I have already referred.

After dinner, the drawing room was filled with merchants, literary men, and members of Parliament—among the last named, the son of Mr. Corbett, well known in both England and America for his sound views of government. Mr. Corbett was surprised and, I think, pleased when I told him that I had studied English grammar from his father's wonderfully useful textbook on that subject, which is considered by many grammarians superior to the Murray's Grammar of our own country. One of the young ladies not only presided at the piano, but performed a march or two (to the accompaniment of her sisters' violins) on the cornet, an instrument she had learned to play in order to instruct a volunteer band of the regiment commanded by her brother.

Towards ten o'clock, when the visitors were distributed

through the various rooms (library, billiard room, music room, and drawing room) according to their respective tastes, Mr. Fielding invited me into his private study. After we had sat there conversing for some time, the door opened and Mrs. Fielding came in, accompanied by a servant in livery bearing a large silver waiter upon which were a decanter of old Scotch whisky, hot water, sugar, and lemons. These were placed on a little round table between us and then, with a kiss to her husband and a good-night to his visitor, this beautiful and cultivated woman laid out with her own hands a pair of embroidered slippers for each of us and retired—the servant standing ready to draw off our boots, his last act of service for the night. I shall never forget this example of an English wife's courteous thoughtfulness which the luxurious surroundings rendered only the more touching.

The next morning, I breakfasted alone, breakfast being absolutely without ceremony. Each person in the house, whether a guest or a member of the family, was expected to take this simple but substantial meal when he chose. The gentlemen, being bankers or manufacturers, had already gone to their offices when I descended to the breakfast room, and the ladies had not yet appeared. Before the grate were various dishes containing chops, eggs, muffins, tea, and coffee. A waiter stood ready to provide a hot plate and a napkin and any of the articles of food desired. As I finished my meal a young lady appeared and, after the usual compliments of the morning, informed me that she was detailed to entertain me and that the family carriage would be at the door at eleven o'clock for a morning drive; but that, if I would prefer a horseback ride, a good saddle horse with which I could accompany the ladies was at my disposal. She invited me to walk out to the stables with her, as she wanted to show me her own pet saddle horse. As we entered the stables, she called the hostler and, going into one of the box stalls, rubbed the side of her horse with her white cambric handkerchief, a proceeding to which the hostler was evidently accustomed and for which he was well prepared.

On returning from our drive to luncheon, my cicerone found two or three friends waiting for her, and, filling the silver cups with home-made beer, she invited us all to partake freely of her own brew. The evening before I had heard this same young lady discussing art and the opera with some society men, and the Educational Bill, then before Parliament, with a member of that body. Few, if any, of the daughters of the parvenus of New York can boast, I fancy, of such a wide range of accomplishments.

I was in London when the news of the assassination of President Garfield reached that city, and I united with a few other Americans in calling a meeting at the American Exchange for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Mrs. Garfield in her terrible affliction. This meeting resulted in a larger meeting which, after listening to speeches of condolence, adopted the following Address and ordered it to be engrossed and forwarded to Mrs. Garfield by the Chairman:

"*Madam:*—I have the honor to forward you an address unanimously adopted at a meeting in which over five hundred Americans and English sympathizers took part in the American Exchange in London. We, the undersigned Americans in London whose hearts are wrung with sorrow by the terrible crime which has been perpetrated on the person of our beloved President, respectfully offer you our deepest sympathy in this national calamity."

I was still in London, when word came of President Garfield's death. The following letter which I sent from there to a friend was intended to give an idea of the profound impression the sad news made:

"London, Sept. 25th, 1881.

"*My Dear Mr. Smith:*—I have a few minutes to spare and I fancy you would like to have a little sketch of the feelings and ceremonies here in London connected with the death of the President of our country. A profound grief has taken possession of all of us Americans and our English friends of every class join in our sorrow for the loss of President Garfield,

and in our execration of the foul assassination which so degrades our common civilization.

"On receipt of the sad news, arrangements were made at once through Minister Lowell for a memorial service and a large meeting was held at Exeter Hall, where Mr. Lowell delivered an able and scholarly address full of sympathy with the bereaved and full of hope that this severe blow to our country might be overruled by Divine Providence for our good. But the great speech of the mournful occasion was made by the eloquent, pious, and altogether judicious Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Church, who a few years ago, as you must remember, preached a magnificent dedication sermon at the Methodist Church of our village, and who may be regarded as the St. Paul of the Methodist communion in America.

"The opening prayer was made by Dr. Marshall, another eloquent Methodist Divine, whose tender appeals for comfort for the widow, and for the fatherless children, as well as for our bereaved country deeply moved the whole audience. It was remarked that Dr. Marshall was a bright example of the real restoration of loyal feeling at the South, and that a common affliction was doing much to make our Union a union of hearts as well as a union of States.

"On Sunday many of the churches held special commemorative services, but yesterday was literally set apart as a day of mourning throughout London and burial services were held in nearly all the churches.

"In every section of the city where I went, I observed marked signs of spontaneous mourning, and sorrow appeared to possess every person whom I met.

"The shipping on the Thames, the Government offices, churches, club houses, public gardens and public institutions generally displayed British flags at half mast, or draped flags of our country. It was very touching to see on many of the shops and private dwellings the British and American flags entwined together, and wreathed in the same emblems of mourning—as if, suffering a common affliction, they sought

communion with each other. I will here mention an interesting fact. The Royal Botanic Society during the funeral exercises displayed the Union Jack at half mast, draped with palm leaves cut from a palm some fifty years old, which had been growing in its garden forty years.

"Notwithstanding the estrangements incident to national rivalries and jealousies, there comes a time when 'blood is thicker than water,' and the presence of death is a touch of nature that makes us all kin. It makes one's heart glad to witness this demonstration of brotherhood between two of the most enlightened Protestant nations, differently governed yet enjoying alike the blessings of constitutional liberty, and working out independently, each by its own chosen means, a high Christian civilization. After all, the poet formulated a great truth when he wrote:

> "'For forms of government let fools contest,
> What e'er is best administered is best.'

"The international disputes of the 'Alabama Capture' and the 'Fishery Outrage' are buried deep and nothing is now heard but generous consolation from every Englishman one meets coupled with wishes for the future prosperity of the American Republic. The Queen, a veritable Empress of the heart, has led in these glorious manifestations of international comity and of personal sympathy for her sister across the water.

"Victoria is unquestionably the Elizabeth of her age, and yet she is far in advance of Elizabeth in womanly grace and virtue. Her reign coincides with the most brilliant period of British progress; but her kind expressions of sympathy for Mrs. Garfield, the sending of a delicate floral offering to decorate the bier of the deceased President, the assumption of mourning by herself and her Court, and in fact her whole attitude at this trying time will shine above all else in her life's history. The noble impulses of her good heart will give her record a crown of Christian grace.

"Her armies have annexed many peoples to her Empire, but her noble conduct has captured the hearts of millions of freemen. And when Bishop Simpson in his eloquent manner exclaimed, 'God bless Queen Victoria!' the thousands rose *en masse* to say, 'Amen, God Bless her!' And it was long before the enthusiasm could be sufficiently quieted to enable the reverend orator to proceed. How love and sympathy conquer a brave and generous people when hostile armies fail!

"In Westminster Abbey, prayers were said for Mrs. Garfield and family, and Händel's Funeral Anthem and other funeral pieces were rendered. At St. Paul's Cathedral an interesting service was held. At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury preached the sermon,—a most effective and thoughtful address. I annex an extract, which exemplifies admirably the prevailing sentiments.

"'Families disunited are said often to be brought together by some family sorrow. Thank God we are not disunited, but we may be brought to understand and love each other more by our union in this common sorrow. There are many bonds that keep us together—the same blood, the same tongue, the privilege of enjoying each other's literature, whilst each lends the aid of its science to develop the industries, the prosperity and the happiness of both. We have learned to appreciate each other. We know here in England your boundless hospitality shown to ourselves or our sons who visit you; but our union above all must be based on our common Christianity. To us the Almighty has committed beyond the trust He has given to any other nations of the world, to carry through the boundaries of the human race civilization based on Christianity. Let us learn that this union is the only true union to keep us really together in the dark ages that may be in store for the human race; that family life, social life, political life, must all have its cement in the Gospel. Some may think that from this country there goes forth at times an uncertain sound as to religion, and that we receive uncertain sounds over the Atlantic from our brethren there, but the

heart of both nations, thank God, is still truly Christian.' His Grace pronounced the benediction, and the 'Dead March in Saul' was played on the organ as the vast congregation slowly left the church.

"At the mounting of the Queen's Guards in the morning at the palace, the band played the 'Dead March in Saul.' In all the royal palaces the window-blinds were closed. In the evening, the bells of St. Paul's were tolled, which are tolled only at the death of one of the Royal Family. Among other distinguished clergymen who officiated in the services at the different churches were Dr. Parker and Rev. Newman Hall and the new Dean of Westminster Abbey, whose name has escaped me for the moment.

"Telegrams from almost every section of Europe, especially from Germany and France, bring us accounts of funeral services. In Paris, services were held in the old church l'Oratoire, under the auspices of Mr. Martin, our Minister there, and of the American Colony. Bishop Dudley of Kentucky made the principal address. It may be interesting for you to know that Coligny, Richardson and Lafayette worshiped in this old church. It is sad to recall the fact that some three hundred years ago, fifteen hundred Protestant women and children were brutally murdered within its walls by the fanatics of that age.

"But I must close, to catch the mail, without taking time to read for correction. I leave for home on Saturday by the Bothnia—glad to get back to see you all—for the more I travel the better I like those I leave behind me.

"Yours in haste,

"Richard Lathers."

Oct. 17, 1882, at a banquet given at Delmonico's by the Associated Marine Underwriters of the United States in honor of their President, Thomas C. Hand of Philadelphia, I responded to the sentiment, "Shipping and Commerce"; and in January, 1883, I delivered a lecture at Lyceum Hall, New Rochelle, on "Women and their Relation to Society," in

which, while opposing the exercise of the suffrage by woman and her direct participation in politics, I expressed the opinion that her piety, her sympathy, her love, and her restraining influence are the efficient and only means by which society has been or can be elevated and purified. I afterwards published this lecture as a brochure, dedicating it to Mrs. Jennie Cunningham Croly, better known as "Jennie June," whose character and career I greatly admired.

The next month I was invited to participate in a meeting to deliberate upon the best manner of honoring the memory of Wm. E. Dodge, one of my best friends, whose death had been a great shock to me. I had had the honor and advantage of association with Mr. Dodge in connection with a large number of public and private enterprises, but I was especially grateful to him for his support and advice as a fellow-member of the Board of Directors of the Erie Railroad at the time I was Chairman of its Finance Committee.

I cannot recall a single worthy charitable or religious undertaking in New York during Mr. Dodge's lifetime of which he was not an earnest and active supporter and promoter. He did not know the meaning of sectarianism or sectionalism. His Christianity embraced every missionary effort at home and abroad; and, although an intense Unionist and opposed to slavery, he was always ready to give to the South every right which the Constitution accorded, to make every concession in the interests of peace consistent with the Union, and even to modify the Constitution itself to insure the peace and unity of the nation. While no man was more consistently determined during the Rebellion to suppress armed resistance to the government, none was more ready, when the South was defeated and impoverished, to go to its aid with liberal loans and gifts of money to individual sufferers, and none more vigorous in opposing as far as he could by his influence in Congress and in his party, every measure tending to subject the Southern States to indignity or to deprive Southerners of their equal rights as members of a reunited country. I cannot resist the temptation to adduce an extract from his patriotic

speech at the Peace Congress, of which he was a member, in evidence of his manly statesmanship at a time when his Party was as fierce in its sectionalism as the Secession Party at the South:

"I love my country and its government. My heart is filled with sorrow at the dangers threatening it. I came here for peace. The country longs for peace, and if the proposed amendments, now presented, will give peace, my prayer is that they may be adopted. I venerate the Constitution and its authors as highly as any member present; but I do not venerate it so highly as to induce me to witness the destruction of the government, rather than see the Constitution amended or improved. I know the people of this country—they value the Union—they will make any sacrifice to save it—they will cast platforms to the winds before they will imperil the Union."

Mr. Dodge began his business career, while still a mere boy, as a clerk in a country store, came after a little to New York, and, by hard work, rigid economy, good judgment, and strict integrity became in a few years not only one of the city's merchant princes but one of its first citizens. Here is Mr. Dodge's own account of his early business training:

"The year 1818 found me a boy in a wholsesale dry goods store No. 324 Pearl Street, near Peck Slip. It was a different thing to be a boy in a store in those days from what it is now. I fear that many young men anxious to get started would hesitate long before facing such duties as had then to be performed. I had to go every morning to Vandewater Street for the keys, as my employers must have them in case of fire in the night. There was much ambition at that time among the young men as to who should have his store opened first, and I used to be up soon after daylight and walk to Vandewater Street and then to the store very early. The store had first to be sprinkled with water which I brought the evening before from the old pump at the corner of Peck Slip, and then carefully swept and dusted. Afterwards came sprinkling the side-

walk and street and sweeping the dust to the centre in a heap for the dustcart to remove. This done, one of the older clerks would come and I was permitted to go home for breakfast. In winter the wood was to be carried in and piled in the cellar, fires were to be made and lamps trimmed. In fact, junior clerks in those days did the work of porters now.

"The dry goods auction stores were mostly on the corners in the block from Wall Street to Pine Street. When our employer purchased a lot of goods at auction, it was our business to go and compare them with the bill and, if two of us could carry them back, we did so, as it would save a shilling for porterage. I remember that while in this store, I carried bundles of goods up Broadway to Greenwich village (near to what is now Seventh and Eighth avenues) and up Fourth Avenue to Tenth Street, crossing the old stone bridge at Canal Street which had long square timbers on the sides, in place of railings, to prevent the passers falling into the sluggish stream fifteen feet below which came from the lowlands where Centre Street and the Tombs now stand. It was the great skating-place in winter. Turning in at the left of the Bridge, I took a path through the meadows after crossing on two timbers over the ditches where the tide ebbed and flowed from the East River.

"New York was then a city of less than 120,000 inhabitants, Brooklyn a town of some 7,000. Most of the families of merchants of wealth lived in the lower part of the city, the fashionable residences being chiefly around the Battery and up Broadway and Greenwich Street to Cortlandt Street. Not more than twenty-five families kept a two-horse carriage. The Post Office was in the parlors of a private house, altered for the purpose, at the corner of William Street and Exchange Place. I well remember the fun we had crowding each other up to the line while waiting for the office to open. Wood at this time was our only fuel. Stoves and furnaces had not yet come into use and how my fingers and feet ached with cold as I stood at the desk of a bitter cold morning!"

In 1884, shortly after Mr. Blaine's defeat as a candidate for

the Presidency, I had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with him. While *en route* to a seashore resort I found him on the same steamer with me, surrounded by a group of politicians, one of whom, a mutual friend, offered to present me. I declined, fearing I might not be well received, inasmuch as in the heated campaign just past I had reviewed Speaker Blaine's connection with the Credit Mobilier scandals with considerable plainness.

The next day I was agreeably surprised by a call from Mr. Blaine, who pleasantly reproached me for not speaking to him on the steamer. Of course, I politely excused myself by saying, "I found you so much engaged, surrounded as you were by your friends, that I determined to defer the pleasure of renewing our acquaintance until I could call on you at your cottage." I added that I was much flattered at being remembered by one whose time was so much taken up with public men and measures. Mr. Blaine answered that he had never forgotten the face of a person whom he had once fairly met. "You will recall," he said, "that you replied, as Chairman of the South Carolina Delegation, to my remarks when I had the pleasure of entertaining that Delegation at my house in Washington in 1874."

In 1885 I was talked of by my political friends as a candidate for State Senator in the district in which I had been legally elected seven years before, but I quickly put a quietus upon their project by sending to one of their organs a communication in which I stated my views of the political methods then prevailing frankly and fully:

"WINYAH PARK, NEW ROCHELLE, Sept. 13th, 1885.
"TO THE EDITOR OF THE WHITE PLAINS *Standard*.

"*My Dear Sir:*—Permit me to thank you for the kind and flattering notice of myself in connection with the candidacy for the State Senate. I have not put myself forward for that position because I have not thought it proper for a citizen to anticipate the wishes of his fellow citizens with regard to a representative office. But I fully appreciate the honor of being

thought by any of my fellow citizens worthy to represent them, so that I am not expected to attempt to influence the nominating convention, which, in my judgment ought to be left free to select the candidate most fit to fill the position.

"I have had more or less to do with the politics of the county during thirty-six years of service in the Democratic Party, but have always studiously avoided putting myself forward for any position in the gift of the Party. I hope, therefore, that my friends who have kindly thought of me in connection with the Senate and who have reproached me with not 'using proper means to procure delegations' will understand that this inactivity does not arise from any undervaluation of the honor intended but from a repugnance to procuring a nomination by such means.

"I believe it is well known that as a candidate, freely nominated, activity would not be lacking on my part to insure the ratification at the polls of so flattering a mark of appreciation from my fellow citizens. The habits of parties, however, preclude free nomination, and, therefore, men like myself who are unwilling to log-roll or purchase delegations must not aspire to represent the people. I am, yours very truly,

"RICHARD LATHERS."

At the Jackson Day banquet at the Hoffman House in 1887, I defended the administration of President Cleveland, particularly its civil service policy, against the attacks which were made upon it by Bourke Cockran and Charles A. Dana in their post-prandial speeches; and the New York *Times* of the next morning had the goodness to say that I had "laid out" these worthies in an "irresistible fashion."

In the summer of 1888 I again visited Europe, and took part at Luzerne, Switzerland, in the first appropriate celebration ever held there of the anniversary of American independence. At the banquet, which occurred at the Grand National Hotel, I responded to the toast, "The Institutions of our Country."

As I rose to speak the toastmaster said to me in a low

voice, "There is an Englishman here who wishes you to tell the company what America has done in the course of its history for the advancement of civilization." After making the proper references to the significance of the occasion, I proceeded to mention a few of the more obvious contributions of America to the civilization of the world.

"We were the first people," I said, "to formulate, in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, and definitely establish the great political truth that 'all men are created equal.' We contributed General Washington, whose military genius was equaled only by his patriotism and wisdom. We contributed Benjamin Franklin, who brought the lightning from heaven into the service of man. We invented and made the first practical use of steam navigation on inland waters, and sent the first steam-propelled vessel across the Atlantic Ocean. Our Morse invented and first operated the magnetic telegraph, and our Field first conceived and realized the idea of binding two continents together by a cable. We invented the steam plough, the steam reaper, the sewing machine, the typesetter, the typewriter—in a word nearly every modern mechanism of real practical utility. But, ladies and gentlemen, I have reserved our greatest national achievement till the last. We have invented and perfected the American woman, a creature as unique as she is beautiful, who has dazzled the drawing rooms of the Old World."

In consequence of these remarks, I was called upon the same evening by two ladies, who requested me to attend the ball given by the English, French, and Swiss ladies of Lucerne, all of whom desired, they said, to make the acquaintance of a gentleman who had spoken so highly of their American cousins.

In the Presidential Campaign of 1888 I made a good-natured reply at White Plains to a speech upon the tariff delivered by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew at Poughkeepsie a short time before, and created no little merriment by attacking Mr Depew with his own weapons.

Senator Thurman, the Democratic nominee for the Vice-

Presidency in this campaign, was addicted to snuff-taking and this habit subjected him to most violent paroxyms of sneezing which put the red bandanna handkerchief he always carried very much in evidence. Hence the adoption by his followers of the bandanna handkerchief as a campaign banner.

One day, while Thurman was addressing the Senate, a new member from the West, who sat near him, fell asleep. Shortly after, in the very middle of his speech, the speaker was seized with one of his irresistible sneezing attacks. The terrible detonations aroused the slumberer, who at once grabbed the swivel chair in front of him and began to twist it round in the most energetic fashion, to the great consternation of its occupant. The new Senator, it seems, had once been a brakeman on a Western railroad and, being only half awake, mistook the noise that had startled him for the signal of the engineer to put on the brakes.

Senator Thurman was at once one of the most popular and one of the most respected members of the Senate. He was a typical old-fashioned Democrat of culture, judgment, and influence. It was delightful to observe the courteous friendliness which Senator Thurman and Senator Sumner displayed towards each other when they discussed the classics, of which they were both great students.

May 1, 1889, I delivered an address before the Church Club upon the political and social obligations of churchmen; and on Jackson Day of the same year, I spoke on "Tariff Reform" at the banquet of the Business Men's Democratic Club of New York City, which had participated actively in the campaigns of 1884 and 1888. On Jackson Day of the following year I again spoke before the same organization, in response to the toast, "Business Men in Politics." In the course of my remarks I paid my respects to both Samuel J. Randall and Gov. Hill. I declared in plain English that the defeat of Grover Cleveland at the recent Presidential election must be laid upon the shoulders of Governor Hill, who sought to save himself and was willing to do so at the expense of the Presidential candidate; and I stated with equal plainness that it was to the

obstructive course in Congress of Mr. Randall, who posed as a Democrat, that we were indebted for the defeat of the important, and indeed vital, measures of the Democratic Party.

My outspokenness on this occasion naturally caused a sensation and gave rise to a great deal of discussion. The New York *Times* of the next morning contained the following:

"THE TALK OF THE TOWN

"COL. LATHERS' ATTACK ON BOGUS DEMOCRATS

"Col. Richard Lathers, whose stinging excoriation of Gov. Hill and Samuel J. Randall at the Andrew Jackson dinner on Wednesday night has made the partisans of these two peculiar Democrats wince and squirm with pain ever since, is a typical Andrew Jackson Democrat. . . .

"Around the Exchanges, where most of the men who attended the Jackson dinner are wont to watch the fractional fluctuations of market quotations, Col. Lathers' speech was freely commented on yesterday. The Hill men said it had spoiled their enjoyment of the dinner. The anti-Hill men said that it was the best thing of the evening. All agreed that Col. Lathers had displayed great self-possession in standing up among a body of 'mixed Democrats' and condemning the course pursued by the man supported by a portion of his hearers.

"Col. Lathers never had the reputation among his business associates of mincing his words. It was, therefore, expected that his remarks would not be of an empty nature, but nobody expected that he would handle what he regards as crying evils in his party with such stern frankness. What is most regretted by the friends of Col. Lathers is that in some way there was whispered about on the day of the banquet a rumor that he would pay his respects to the Governor, and that that rumor reached Mr. Hill's ears in time for him to decline an invitation to be present and speak, which he had previously accepted with grateful fervor. There were those charitable

enough to believe that Gov. Hill, as he stated in his telegram, had met with 'unexpected engagements' which prevented him from leaving Albany. All had faith in the Governor's sincerity when he said: 'I trust the entertainment will be a pleasant one.' It was freely said that there would have been more entertainment if Col. Lathers had had the Governor's mobile countenance to gaze upon and draw inspiration from as he spoke."

At the banquet in honor of the twentieth anniversary of the Lotos Club, March 21, 1890, I spoke, in reply to Col. Ingersoll, in defense of religion.

The following December, my home at New Rochelle was honored by the presence of "The Daughter of the Confederacy."

"Col. and Mrs. Lathers," said the New Rochelle *Press* of Dec. 24, "entertained Miss Winnie Davis, daughter of Hon. Jefferson Davis, and a few Southern friends at Winyah Park on Wednesday to luncheon. Among the guests were Hon. David Dudley Field, Ex-Postmaster-General Thomas L. James, Col. Garnett, Colonel Chisholm, and Mr. George Lee, of Virginia.

"It affords us pleasure to note social attentions of this kind towards our Southern friends, especially when they are represented by a young lady of so much cultivation and loveliness. It may not be generally known that Miss Davis's mother was a Northern lady to whom she refers with becoming pride. During the Civil War it was esteemed loyal and patriotic to denounce and arm against every element, individual or organized, arrayed against the Union. But now, when the Union is recognized and its power demonstrated in every quarter, it is clearly patriotic and manly to forget the civil strife, which carried into armed resistance many a good Southern man, who was misled by an exaggeration of the State Rights principle. Mr. Davis was a victim of this heresy, and has severely felt the consequences. One cannot but feel a certain degree of sympathy for a man who served the country as a Cabinet

officer, and as a Senator, with ability and integrity, and who displayed great bravery as an officer in our army during the Mexican War."

A few short years later all Southerners and many sympathetic Northerners were called upon to mourn the demise of this beautiful and accomplished woman.

About the year 1891 I built a plain but commodious summer house at Twilight Park, near Haines Falls in the Catskill Mountains, and called it Chicora Cottage; Chicora being the name given by the early Spanish explorers to that section of the Atlantic coast where Charleston and Fort Sumter now stand—because they fancied that the word represented the sweet note of the mocking bird (chi-co-ra).

During the eighties a few New York and Brooklyn gentlemen formed an association, of which Gen. Wingate was made President, purchased a picturesque tract of land in the Catskills, named it Twilight Park, supplied it with water, and divided it into lots of moderate size on which some sixty or seventy neat cottages and three clubhouses (at which the cottagers may take their meals) have since been erected.

On Sunday evenings in summer the cottagers, their guests, and the residents of the district adjacent to the Park, assemble at Chicora Cottage to sing the hymns of their various churches for an hour and, in closing, our National hymn, "America."

Some time since I received a visit in the Catskills from my old and beloved friend, Judge Richard O'Gorman.

It was in part because Judge O'Gorman was always dealing in a subtle, inferential kind of wit and in part because he expressed in simple and refined language the poetical ideas that thronged his brain, that he was given the title of "the silver-tongued O'Gorman."

Judge O'Gorman was one of the most respected of the judges of our bench, a capacity in which he served until retired by age under the constitutional limitation. He had passed unstained, as Corporation Counsel, through the corruption of the Tweed *régime*. While he occupied this position he was approached by an unscrupulous Commission with the request

that he sanction or overlook a proposed fraud which would naturally come under his observation. When he declined promptly and indignantly, he was threatened indirectly with a reduction of his salary. He replied that he could submit to such a reduction, that it might even be that his compensation was in excess of his services, but that he could not degrade his office (and himself) by condoning a fraud to retain it.

Richard O'Gorman came to New York from Ireland about the same time that I came to New York from the South, and he quickly became popular in New York society by reason of his wit, his refinement, and his grace of person—for he was unusually handsome. The brilliant young Irish patriot was in great demand as a lecturer upon literary topics, and received an invitation, which he accepted, to deliver a lecture upon Goldsmith before a literary club of Troy. After the lecture, the Treasurer of the club handed Mr. O'Gorman the usual fee of $300. Mr. O'Gorman refused it on the ground that he never accepted compensation for services of that kind. The Treasurer insisted, explaining that such a precedent would embarrass the club in its dealings with other lecturers; but, finally, finding him politely firm in his refusal, suggested as a compromise that the money be turned over to some charitable object of Mr. O'Gorman's choice. To this Mr. O'Gorman readily assented. "I accept your suggestion," he said, "and propose (as you are kind enough to appreciate my lecture and are thus in sympathy with the memory of Goldsmith) that you give the $300 to two refined old spinsters living in Jersey City in straitened circumstances; they are grandnieces of Oliver Goldsmith." The club undertook the mission and were so much pleased with the dignity of the old ladies that they put them on their list of beneficiaries for life.

In May, 1892, learning that Miss Lee, daughter of General Robert E. Lee, was visiting New York, I determined to give a reception in her honor. I accordingly sent out cards to my friends without taking any account of their political or sectional affiliations. Happening into the Lincoln Bank, of which Ex-Postmaster-General James is President, I fell into con-

Richard O'Gorman

From a photograph taken by Hargrave about 1895

versation with Gen. James, who remarked that he and Mrs. James appreciated highly the invitation to meet the daughter of Gen. Lee and would cancel all other engagements in order to be present. "I hope," he added, "you have sent an invitation to Mrs. Grant." I replied that I had had the pleasure of General Grant's acquaintance, but that I had never met Mrs. Grant. "Then, address a letter to me," he said, "expressing a desire to have her present at your reception to meet the daughter of her husband's great military adversary, whom he treated with such chivalrous consideration on the occasion of his surrender."

I wrote a letter such as General James suggested, intimating therein that the presence of Mrs. Grant at a reception to Miss Lee would be in beautiful accord with the noble example set by Gen. Grant. Mrs. Grant immediately took her carriage and called on Gen. James. She explained to him that she had abstained from visits of every kind since the death of her husband, but expressed a desire to keep my letter as a valued tribute to his memory, and promised that, if Col. Lathers would send invitations to her son and daughter, they would be happy to attend.

The reception occurred as planned and the guests were deeply moved by this graceful evidence that the "bloody chasm" had at last been bridged. I append herewith a brief newspaper notice of this happy event:

"A reception was held at the city residence of Colonel Richard Lathers, No. 248 Central Park West, yesterday afternoon, that expressed in an appropriate and touching manner the kindly feeling existing between the North and South. Miss Mary Custis Lee, a descendant of Martha Washington, and a daughter of Gen. Robert E. Lee, arrived in this city last week from Bermuda, and, as the widow of General Grant and her daughter-in-law were in town, Col. Lathers took the opportunity of bringing these representative women of the North and South together in an informal and quiet way. Mrs. Grant was unable to attend, being still in deep mourning, but

her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Frederick D. Grant, was present as her representative and completed the graceful ceremony by greeting the daughter of the great soldier of the South in the name of the great soldier of the North. A handsomely framed portrait of General Lee was draped for the occasion, while an excellent likeness of Miss Lee painted on glass for Col. Lathers in Florence, Italy, was exhibited. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Frederick D. Grant, Ex-Postmaster-General James and Mrs. James, David Dudley Field, Frederick R. Coudert, Rev. and Mrs. Townsend, Judge Roger A. Pryor and Mrs. Pryor, Col. and Mrs. Trenholm, Captain and Mrs. Garden, Wilson G. Hunt, John T. Agnew, Judge and Mrs. O'Gorman, Judge Robert A. Van Wyck and Mrs. Van Wyck, Gen. Horace Porter, Everett J. Wheeler, Mr. and Mrs. Mayo (of Richmond)."

In the summer of 1893 I received a letter from the able economist, Prof. Perry of Williams College, for whom I entertained great respect because of his consistent and persistent advocacy of Free Trade in a High Tariff community. This letter is so characteristic of the man and throws so much light on the underhanded maneuvers of a certain class of "stand-patters," that I feel justified in giving it to the public notwithstanding the personalities it contains:

"WILLIAMS COLLEGE, July 9th, 1893.

"COL. LATHERS,

"*My Dear Sir:*—I am much obliged to you for your kind letter received this morning. I hardly think it is worth your while to notice the 'Protest' to which you refer, so feeble is it numerically and in every other point of view. There is not force enough in it to do me or the cause any good by way of reaction. There are fourteen signers, but five of these are not graduates of the College at all, and were never in attendance on the College, and as far as I know never gave a penny to the College or exerted a particle of influence in its behalf. I do not even know the residence of one of them. Neither

does our Alumni Address Book give the residence certainly of 'S. S. Melon,' though he is a graduate. He formerly lived either in Ala. or Miss., we do not know which. Of the remaining eight graduates, only three were ever under my instruction; Fitch, '58, now of Jefferson, O. (neighbor of Ely, '48, of Cleveland, the sole originator of the protest, for reasons I will give you in a moment); Barton, '66, New York, a merchant, I believe; and Hubbell, '74, a young lawyer of New York. These men are as obscure, I should think, as it is possible for college graduates to be. Of the remaining five signers, Knowlson was and (I think) is, a wool dealer of Troy, who failed very badly a few years ago. He is a very pleasant gentleman, but carries no weight in any direction; Hoyt, late Gov. of Penn., who speaks hoarse through a whisky throat, was only here in College about a year in 1849, and is a Pennsylvanian; Dewey is a police justice in Milford, Mass., of excellent ancestry, but I presume he could not tell, to save his life, the origin of the term 'tariff,' or the real nature of the thing 'tariff'; Laselle of Whitsunville, Mass., is a very good man indeed, a practical manufacturer, and one whose name on this paper is heavier than all the rest put together; and Ely, of Cleveland, O., a man interested in the iron and steel monopolies, and who has engineered this petty and contemptible movement out of spite for me personally, because a number of years ago he appointed himself a censor, and came into my study without an invitation to browbeat me, having the manners of an overseer or one of the Penn. iron lords. He talked two hours and 'gave himself away,' and his cause so completely in that time, that I then turned upon him savagely and gave him such a dressing down for the greed and plundering of his system, virtually confessed in his own talk, that he has borne me a grudge for my plain speaking ever since, and has tried to do this same thing before. His failure is laughable. There were nearly three hundred graduates of the college on the ground last week; he got eight besides himself to sign his paper, but more than a third of his signers were 'strangers and aliens.'

"The College is thoroughly committed to Free Trade without any reference to me one way or the other. It gave John Bright an LL. D. in 1875. Bryant, the most honored name upon its catalogue, was the first President of the A. M. F. T. League, and one of his last public utterances was 'I have been fifty years in the service, and have never wearied of it.' The second President of the same was D. D. Field, the greatest lawyer ever graduated here. The present President is D. A. Wells, the only graduate of the college who has ever taken D. C. L. at Oxford University. My own position is impregnably strong. The Trustees and the Faculty, though not generally free traders, are unanimously for me as a Professor and a man. I could not ask for anything better in any respect, and so long as the breath is in my body I shall voice the wrongs and losses of God's poor under a wretched system of spoliation.

"My answer to all this will come in about two weeks in a new and splendid edition of my book, of which you will receive an early copy.

"Very kindly,

"A. L. PERRY."

In 1894 I prepared and delivered before the Borcella Club of New Rochelle a series of lectures on art, the first of which was afterwards printed in a pamphlet of fifty pages. As a young man I had painted somewhat myself *en amateur*, and I had always taken great delight in collecting works of art and in discussing art questions with artists—especially with Daniel Huntington and Edward Moran, with whose achievements and ideals I was profoundly in sympathy.

Edward Moran, who was born in England in 1829, displayed artistic talent at a very early age and produced creditable work when he was only nine, under the guidance of a French art-decorator. While still a boy, he came to this country with his parents who settled in Maryland, where he was put to work in a factory. This drudging factory life soon palled on him and, one day, he collected his belongings

OLD NEW YORK

Reproduced from a photograph of a painting made by Colonel Lathers about 1840, now in the possession of his family. The picture was made from a point on the New Jersey shore about where the present station of the Central Railroad of New Jersey stands

and went to Philadelphia—walking the entire distance. In Philadelphia, he worked first for a cabinet maker, then for a bronzer and house painter and, finally (on the advice of two artists with whom he had become friendly), he took a studio in Callowhill Street and devoted himself to his art. After a fairly successful career in Philadelphia, he came to New York, where enterprise and talent always make their mark, and now, at a ripe age, he is enjoying the reward of the arduous labors of his early manhood.

The year 1896 was marked by the celebration of our Golden Wedding, but as a special volume devoted to that event has been printed I will limit myself to quoting a part of the account of the ceremony which appeared in the New York *Tribune* the next day:

"A NOTABLE GOLDEN WEDDING

"COLONEL AND MRS. LATHERS RECEIVE THEIR FRIENDS

"The doors of the town house of Colonel Richard Lathers, No. 248 Central Park West, were thrown open to his friends from 4 to 7 p. m. yesterday, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Colonel and Mrs. Lathers's wedding day. Although many of the invited guests pass the summer out of town, the reception rooms were crowded with 500 people, who had taken the opportunity to congratulate Colonel and Mrs. Lathers upon the occasion.

"The rooms were decorated with yellow roses and daisies, and Colonel Lathers's rare collection of paintings and engravings added to the attractiveness of the surroundings. Among the collection may be noted original works of La Volpe, Joseph Vernet, Story, T. A. Richards, and Emmons, as well as Edward Moran's Centennial picture of New York Harbor, and a portrait of Colonel Lathers painted by Huntington a quarter of a century ago. There are also engravings of the works of Albert Durer (1507), Panini, Watson (1750), Le Brun, Hamilton, Bartolozzi, Turner, Simmons and Landseer. Two notable pieces of statuary were placed in the parlors, 'The Lost Pleiad,'

Randolph Rodgers's last work, for which General Scott's daughter was the model, and 'Judith,' by Tadolini, of Rome, which was originally executed for the Italian Government, but was purchased by Colonel Lathers. A well-known Italian countess posed for this work. Two rare and beautiful Sèvres tables, which were the property of Louis Philippe, and were abandoned by him after his abdication of the French throne, were also on exhibition. They represent, respectively, authentic portraits of Henri IV and the beauties of his court, and of Louis XVI and his court ladies, the miniature portraits being copies of the originals in the Louvre.

"Among the most interesting pieces on exhibition was a handsomely framed collection of pictures, selected for the occasion, which represented portraits of Colonel and Mrs. Lathers taken before their marriage, their portraits of a few years ago, portraits of their children, pictures of the house in New Rochelle where the young couple began their married life, of the Colonel's present home at New Rochelle, Winyah Park; pictures of the houses at Pittsfield, Mass., and at Charleston, S. C., where he entertained distinguished Northern and Confederate soldiers; Chicora cottage in the Catskills, and the churches of which he was many years warden—Trinity Church, New Rochelle, and the church at Georgetown, S. C. The plain white silk dress in which Mrs. Lathers was married was also exhibited. . . . . ."

The nomination of Bryan for the Presidency by the Democratic Convention of 1896 was a great shock to me, and it was absolutely impossible for me to give the ticket my support. The following letter which I sent in July to the Chairman of the Election Committee of Westchester County explains sufficiently my position:

"C. H. Nixon.

"*Dear Sir:*—I have just received a copy of the Westchester *Tribune,* in which it is announced that I have been appointed, as usual, a member of an Election Committee for the

support of Bryan and Sewall, the nominees of the late Chicago Convention. I hereby decline, with all respect to the old Party friends appointing me, as I am utterly opposed to the candidates and to the populistic and disorganizing Anti-Democratic platform which they are pledged to support.

"I have been for fifty years in Westchester County and New York City, an active supporter of the Democratic principles and measures of Jefferson and Jackson, the founders of our Party, and I am too proud of my Party and personal records to have them sullied.

"I am not disposed for the sake of nominal fealty to my Party to contribute to its destruction and to the overthrow of our conservative institutions by such ignorant anarchists as Tillman and Altgeld, who have lately sprung into power by sectional and populistic appeals to the ignorant and unthinking portions of the South and West.

"I propose, therefore, at the coming election to support the federal nominations and platform of the Republican Party and to support such candidates for Congress of either party as are pledged for sound money, and have a fair chance of success. In all else, I will support, as I have during a lifetime, the Democracy. Democracy being a principle, as well as a Party, is best served by maintaining its purity even at the expense of facing a minority.

"Very truly yours,

"Richard Lathers."

August 19, I gave at Twilight Park, by request of the ladies of the Colony, a talk exposing the fallacy of the Free Silver proposition to a mixed audience containing a number of distinguished men—among them Rev. Dr. G. W. Smith, President of Trinity College, Hartford, and Bishop Andrews of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York.

May 1, 1897, I again addressed the New York Church Club at its anniversary banquet on "The Duty of Churchmen to the State," practically the same subject as that upon which I had addressed it eight years before—a subject to which interven-

ing events had given point. This address and the address of 1889 having been printed together in pamphlet form, I need only say here that I urged upon the club a more useful and practical line of church work than it had undertaken hitherto, and the admission of clergymen to its membership, and insisted that the time had come for the church to exert its influence for the preservation of the purity of the government under which we live.

My interest in this vital subject induced me about this time to donate to Williams College a fund the income of which should be used for a gold medal to be awarded annually to that member of the Senior class who should hand in the best essay on "The Duty of Christians to Government." One of the conditions I imposed was that the prize essay be published in two prominent journals "in order to insure an annual discussion of an important subject, under the sanction of one of our educational and religious institutions."

In the latter part of May, 1897, I was elected an honorary member of Flandreau Post, 509 (New Rochelle) G. A. R., a distinction which I accepted with pride and gratitude.

The unrighteous Spanish-American War was almost as great a shock to me in one way as the nomination of Bryan had been in another. I protested publicly against the resolutions of the Hundredth Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church indorsing the villainy, and I published a pamphlet entitled "A Letter on the Social and Political Degradation of the Times," in which I criticised severely this and several other radical departures from the traditional policy of our people.

The Springfield *Republican* referred to my pamphlet as follows:

"THE TIMES ARE OUT OF JOINT

"The venerable Col. Richard Lathers, who will be recalled by many Berkshire people as a former resident of Pittsfield, continues to be a shrewd observer of public affairs from the retirement of his suburban home, near New York. He has

lately had printed a pamphlet entitled 'A letter on the social and political degradation of the times, its cause and remedy.' The publication was prompted by some remarks in the *Churchman*, calling attention to the growing hostility of European sentiment to the typical American character which has doubled in volume and ferocity since the Spanish war, and which should not be lightly treated, as it is by the people and the press. For, observes the *Churchman*, it has always been a matter of great importance to a nation how it is regarded by its neighbors.

"First, says Col. Lathers, we must candidly admit the existence of these evils and weaknesses which afford examples for animadversion in social or political life at home or abroad, and then try to correct them. Col. Lathers has traveled much abroad, and had ample opportunity to observe the ways of his countrymen there. He admits with shame that Europeans are quite justified in their criticisms of the class of Americans with which they most come in contact. These are the rich parvenus who take up their abodes in the principal cities and live extravagantly, while offering the fortunes of their daughters for husbands to such of the nobility as need American money to repair their fortunes. Indeed, he remarks, the great social prize for our parvenu families and their heirs and daughters appears to be a visit from the Prince of Wales and an invitation to the Queen's drawing-room receptions, the passion for which is the great annoyance of our Minister in London. This passion for even an humble connection with the aristocracy of Europe extends to and is merged in politics. Our own Boss Croker in his race-horse connection with the Prince of Wales can only afford Tammany Hall a visit of a few weeks occasionally to return among us to regulate and direct the municipal affairs of Greater New York.

"The thought of Boss Croker naturally leads Col. Lathers to a consideration of the political demoralization existing in municipal and national government at home. Almost every leading statesman from both parties, he complains, has been driven out of responsible official life and from representative

offices. With few exceptions, from alderman to United States Senator, we are creatures of political bosses, of machine leaders, as ignorant as they are rapacious. Purity of administration was formerly secured, he says, by means of faithful attendance on party caucuses and nominating conventions of the respective parties, as well as by voting at the polls. This full discharge of citizenship promoted a degree of honesty and good-will even in hostile contests, and largely counteracted the influence of demagogues and professional office-seekers, and there is no substitute for personal effort in a democratic republic. This pregnant conclusion Col. Lathers drives vigorously home with amplifying illustration and argument."

This pamphlet evoked from my old friend, Rev. Theodore Cuyler, D. D., the following ardent letter. It would have been every way worth while if it had done nothing more:

"176 Oxford St., Brooklyn, Oct. 1, '98.

"*My Dear Old Friend:—Amen!* and *Amen!* to every line of your pungent and powerful pamphlet!

"It ought to go on wings of the press into every house—and heart—in the land.

"This war is *none* for 'humanity'—but in results—for land-grabbing has brought us no glory and involves us in numberless perils.

"What a *Senate* also! to settle the many problems!

"Oh for one hour of Abraham Lincoln!

"I write in *haste*—as I am just off to preach to the students of Princeton University.

"I am my dear Colonel,

"Yours heartily,

"Theo. L. Cuyler."

CHAPTER XIV

THE EVENING OF LIFE

JUNE 29, 1899, owing to my increasing age, which condemned me to relative inactivity, I resigned my membership in the Lotos Club, which I had joined soon after its foundation and of which I had been a member for twenty-one years; but, at the urgent request of the Club, I withdrew my resignation and allowed my name to be put on the non-resident list.

Although I have been at one time or another a member of several clubs (including the Reform, Twilight, Union, and Manhattan) and of many societies, (literary, artistic, military, philanthropic, economic, and scientific) the club relation which has afforded me the most social and intellectual gratification has been that with the Lotos.

The Lotos Club was organized and chartered in 1870, its object being (to quote the language of its historian, Mr. John Elderkin) "to cultivate the social intercourse of the musical and dramatic professions and such merchants and professional gentlemen of artistic tastes and inclinations as would naturally be attracted to such a club."

The initiation fee was placed at $20, raised later to $50, and, still later, as the membership increased, to an equality with that of the other important clubs of the city. At its first meeting, every member, it has been jocularly remarked, was elected to an office. Its present members, and those who have visited its sumptuous quarters on Fifth Avenue, will be amused to learn that, in the beginning, the members were obliged to sit around on camp stools and such empty candle and soap boxes as the steward was able to procure at short notice. But this lack of luxury did not prevent these early meetings from being occasions of the greatest good cheer.

Among the original members and early Presidents of the

Lotos was the Hon. A. Oakey Hall, who did so much for it financially and socially that he has been very properly called "the father of the Club." Mr. Hall was a leader in Tammany Hall and the most astute politician of his time. His capacity and popularity were so great that he could count on an unlimited tenure of any public office he was willing to accept. He served as Attorney-general and, subsequently, as Mayor of the City with great acceptance to all parties in spite of his political connection with Tweed and his corrupt ring. After the exposure of Tweed, Mr. Hall demanded an investigation of his administration as Mayor, and was pronounced innocent of all participation in the Tweed frauds. But he was so mortified by his unfortunate connection with the scandal, and so exhausted by the ordeal through which he had passed, that he left New York and went to London, where his talents and the high reputation of the New York law firm to which he belonged gave him ready access to the courts. He became an editor of the London, and later, of the Paris, edition of the New York *Herald*, which his friend James Gordon Bennett owned. He was restless, however, as men of his brilliancy and versatility are apt to be, and he finally drifted back to New York, utterly without means, and eked out a precarious living there by furnishing the papers, at starvation rates, with essays and reminiscences. He died suddenly without even letting his friends know how much he needed assistance. I passed a few hours with him at the Lotos Club one day talking over old times and was inexpressibly shocked the next day to hear of his death and the necessity of raising money for his funeral. He had been too proud to make his condition known.

Hon. Whitelaw Reid, also an original member, was the President of the Lotos at the time I became a member, and filled that position for some thirteen years, during which it acquired its peculiar reputation for hospitality to visiting celebrities, among whom may be mentioned Thackeray, Dickens, Froude, Lord Houghton, Tupper, Count de Lesseps, Henry Irving, Editor Sala, Bartholdi, Sir Edwin Arnold, Gilbert and

Colonel Richard Lathers

Reproduced from a photograph by Bogardus, taken late in life.

Sullivan, Dean Stanley, Prof. Proctor, Wilkie Collins, Dean Hole, Dean Kingsley, Edwin Yates, and Harry Furness.

The last banquet I was able to attend—in the spring of 1892—was given in honor of Whitelaw Reid on his return to America after serving his country as Ambassador to France. It was the largest and most brilliant banquet the Club had given up to that time, and the pre-eminence of America in the art of post-prandial oratory was demonstrated anew. In fact, the just reputations of Gen. Horace Porter and Chauncey M. Depew as after-dinner speakers were largely made at the banquets of the Lotos.

The late Col. Thomas W. Knox (another original member) was my sponsor at the Lotos and my almost constant companion there. In fact, between Col. Knox and myself there was an attachment so strong and singular that it attracted the attention of the Club.

Col. Knox was a confirmed bachelor, agnostic, a New England Abolitionist, a loyal member of the Union League Club, and an ultra-Protectionist; while I was a married man, a churchman, a Southern Pro-Slavery man, and a Free Trade Democrat connected with Tammany Hall. And yet, notwithstanding our mutually antagonistic views and in spite of the fact that we discussed freely and fully the very subjects upon which we differed most, we were never estranged for a moment thereby.

We occupied for seventeen years contiguous rooms at the Club (for I, as a suburban and country resident, found it convenient to keep a room there) and we breakfasted and lunched together, at our joint expense, practically every day when one or the other was not absent from the city—our last luncheon together occurring only two days before Col. Knox's sudden death; and our personal respect and, perhaps, love, for each other condoned opinions and habits which might otherwise have led to difficulties.

Our luncheon was usually selected by Col. Knox, and was divided, even down to the fruit, with great exactness, for Col. Knox was exceedingly scrupulous in such matters. It

was, as a rule, very simple, and, although neither of us was what is called "a temperance man," was rarely accompanied by wine. The cordiality of our relations may be judged from the following letter, brief as it is, which Col. Knox sent me while we were both in Europe:

"ZURICH, SUISSE, July 26, 1881.

"*My Dear Colonel:*—Received your letter on my arrival in Paris, but was so 'done up' with the heat that I could not venture on anything which could possibly be delayed. Devoted all my energies to keeping cool, but with only partial success.

"Here I am in Switzerland. Cannot give you any better address than my bankers, Drexel, Harjes & Co., 31 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris, as I only stay a day or two in a place—or a few days at farthest—and my movements are uncertain. Shall fetch around at Paris about Aug. 25th and stay there till Sept. 2d. I sail from Havre Sept. 3d.

"If we don't manage to meet here, we have a good chance of it at the old Lotos in the autumn, where we will talk over the summer's campaign and recount our marvelous adventures by flood and field.

"Believe me as ever,

"Sincerely yours,

"THOS. W. KNOX."

The Philadelphia *Press* of July 6, 1900, contained the following apropos of the action taken by the Democratic Nominating Convention at Kansas City:

"NEW YORK, July 5.—There is something in the tone of voice, the bewildered, anxious look and the utterances of men who have been known for years as conservative and consistent Democrats, when they speak of the proceedings at Kansas City, which excites pity or sympathy. They are bemoaning what seems to them to be the humiliation and demoralization of the party with which they were once proud to be associated as members. . . .

"Colonel Lathers this morning said that he could not look upon the gathering at Kansas City as a representative Democratic body. To him it seemed more like a respectable mob, respectable in the sense that it was not violent or of law-breaking disposition. But to him it illustrated the demoralization and pitiable end to which the Democratic Party had come as a result of its willingness to consort with Populism.

"'This convention does not represent the purposes, the patriotism or the influences that dominate intelligent, conservative and reasonable Democrats.' These were Colonel Lathers' words, and he added that for that reason, he could not be expected to support, and he did not see how any other conservative Democrat could be for an instant tempted to support the candidates and the platform of the Kansas City Convention. In speaking of the address made by Governor Thomas, of Colorado, who was temporary Chairman of the Convention, Col. Lathers called attention to the fallacy, as he alleged, which it contained in one of the most plausible of its paragraphs.

"He did it as an illustration of the illogical thinking, and of the crude inaccuracy of statement which he asserts characterizes so much of the utterances of those who have been brought forward as subordinate leaders under the chief leadership of Bryan.

"MANHATTAN."

I do not recall having been "interviewed" by "Manhattan," the intelligent correspondent of the *Press;* but he stated fairly the views of the conservative members of the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland, and I am quite willing to let these views stand as my own.

Fealty to principle leaves no room for compromise. Nothing is to be gained by obedience to the dictates of self-constituted bosses, who acquire their power in a party by ignoring or overriding the fundamental principles of that party. It was not wholly nor even mainly the bi-metal theory of Mr. Bryan and his following that prevented old Democrats from

co-operating with them, but the absolute dishonesty of purpose for which it stood—a social and political sin which no genuine old-time Democrat could countenance for an instant.

August 15 of this same year I was appointed a Vice-President of the Charleston Exposition—an appointment which I accepted in a letter commending Charlestonians for making a serious effort at last to restore to old Charleston some measure of its whilom prosperity and prestige.

William M. Evarts, to whom I have had frequent occasion to refer in these notes, died on the first of March, 1901.

I became acquainted with Mr. Evarts while organizing, in the year 1854, the Great Western Insurance Company, of which he became the counsel and a director. He was a most judicious adviser as to the general policy of the Company, and always recommended the greatest liberality in the settlement of losses. Indeed, the Great Western practically introduced the now prevalent custom of paying immediately the losses about whose legality there could be no reasonable doubt, and of considering with liberality those that were equitable even if they were not covered by the policy. This attitude rendered the Company exceedingly popular, and I cannot recall a single defense by the Company against the suit of any policyholder during the fifteen years I was connected with it.

During my first visit to London, I called upon a noted lawyer to have a large trust fund deed of some $600,000 drawn up for a guarantee fund in Europe against losses payable by the Great Western in London. I experienced some delay (unusual in our New York law offices) in gaining access to the lawyer, whom I had met frequently at dinners and other social functions, and I complained accordingly. The lawyer remonstrated: "You don't mean to say that your distinguished friend, Mr. Evarts, can grant an interview at any time he is called upon? How can he find opportunity to prepare his great cases?" I explained that on such occasions he did not appear at his office, but used the library at his residence. "No matter how he makes up his cases, interrupted or not, he is a wonderful man," was his polite re-

joinder. "Do you know, Sir, I met him at a large dinner party of distinguished clergymen, and his speech on the Canon Law perfectly surprised the old Bishops there." To this, wishing to impress on the Englishman the fact that Mr. Evarts was but a glorified type of our young professional men, whose hard study gave them, like Evarts, rather a cadaverous and aged look, I replied, "Perhaps you do not know that the students in our colleges are not expected to spend their time verifying Euclid or making Greek verses, and that their freedom from these tasks gives them time to pursue practical studies. Had you met Mr. Evarts at an engineers' dinner, you would have had from him an exhaustive address on mechanics." The English barrister, who was a graduate of Oxford, replied, "Do you know, I think your American colleges are right?"

With all his learning, profundity, and conscientious thoroughness, Mr. Evarts was a great wit.

When the Committee from the Taxpayers' Convention, of which I was a member, visited Washington, we called upon Mr. Evarts and laid before him in detail the robberies committed by the negroes and carpet-baggers in the Legislature of South Carolina. One of our number said, "Mr. Evarts, if you were to go into the present Legislative Hall, you would be driven out by the intolerable stench of that unclean body." Mr. Evarts laughingly replied,

> "So they are like the poet's roses,
> 'They steal and give odors.'"

Gen. Butler never forgave Mr. Evarts his reply to his bumptious and boisterous arraignment of Johnson. When the General had ceased gesticulating and vociferating, Mr. Evarts remarked in his quiet way that there were two forms of argument—discussion and concussion. A distinguished Union Commander in the Civil War being desirous of capturing Fort Fisher had filled a vessel with explosives, anchored it near that fortification, set fire to it and caused a fearful and noisy explosion. This gallant commander expected to find, when

the smoke cleared away, that the Rebel fortification and its defenders had been blown skyhigh; but, to his mortification, the fort stood as firm as ever. That was concussion. This General's experiment with concussion having failed at Fort Fisher, he was trying it on the Senate!

I might fill pages with instances of Mr. Evarts' faculty for turning the arguments of his opponents into ridicule. But I will limit myself to his reply to George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, in the Johnson impeachment trial, one of the many great trials in which he played a leading part.

"Travelers and astronomers inform us," said Mr. Boutwell, in his peroration, "that in the Southern heavens, near the Southern Cross, there is a vast space which the uneducated call 'the hole in the sky,' where the eye of man with the aid of the powers of the telescope, has been unable to discover nebula, or asteroid, or comet, or planet, or star or sun. In that dreary, cold, dark region of space, which is only known to be less than infinite by the evidences of creation elsewhere, the Great Author of the celestial mechanism has left the chaos which was in the beginning. If this earth were capable of the sentiments and emotions of justice and virtue, which in human mortal beings are the evidences and the pledge of our divine origin and immortal destiny, it would heave and throw, with the energy of the elemental forces of nature, and project this enemy of two races of men into that vast region, there forever to exist in a solitude as eternal as life, or as the absence of life, emblematical of, if not really, that 'outer darkness' of which the Saviour of man spoke in warning to those who are the enemies of themselves, of their race, and of their God. But it is yours to relieve, not to punish. This done, and our country is again advanced in the intelligent opinion of mankind. In other governments an unfaithful ruler can be removed only by revolution, violence, or force. The proceeding here is judicial, and according to the forms of law. Your judgment will be enforced without the aid of a policeman or a soldier. What other evidence will be needed of the value of republican institutions? What other

test of the strength and vigor of our government? What other assurance that the virtue of the people is equal to any emergency of national life?"

In reply, Mr. Evarts said: "Indeed, upon my soul, I believe he is aware of an astronomical fact which many professors of that science are wholly ignorant of. But nevertheless, while some of his honorable colleagues were paying attention to an unoccupied and unappropriated island on the surface of the sea, Mr. Manager Boutwell, more ambitious, had discovered an untenanted and unappropriated region in the skies, reserved, he would have us think, in the final councils of the Almighty, as the place of punishment for convicted and deposed American presidents.

"At first I thought that his mind had become so 'enlarged' that it was not 'sharp' enough to discover the Constitution had limited the punishment, but on reflection, I saw that he was as legal and logical as he was ambitious and astronomical, for the Constitution has said 'removal from office,' and has put no limit to the distance of the removal; so that it may be, without shedding a drop of his blood, or taking a penny of his property, or confining his limbs, instant removal from office and transportation to the skies. Truly, this is a great undertaking; and if the learned manager can only get over the obstacles of the laws of nature, the Constitution will not stand in his way. He can contrive no method but that of a convulsion of the earth that shall project the deposed President to this infinitely distant space; but a shock of nature of so vast an energy and for so great a result on him might unsettle even the footing of the firm Members of Congress. We certainly need not resort to so perilous a method as that. How shall we accomplish it? Why, in the first place, nobody knows where that space is but the learned manager himself, and he is the necessary deputy to execute the judgment of the Court.

"Let it then be provided that in the case of your sentence of deposition and removal from office, the honorable and astronomical manager shall take into his hands the execution of the sentence. With the President made fast to his broad and

strong shoulders, and, having already essayed the flight by imagination, better prepared than anybody else to execute it in form, taking the advantage of ladders as far as ladders will go to the top of this great Capitol, and spurning then with his foot the crest of Liberty, let him set out upon his flight, while the two houses of Congress and all the people of the United States shall shout '*Sic itur ad astra.*'

"But here a distressing doubt strikes me; how will the manager get back? He will have got far beyond the reach of gravitation to restore him, and so ambitious a wing as his could never stoop to a downward flight. Indeed, as he passes through the constellations, that famous question of Carlyle, by which he derides the littleness of human affairs upon the scale of the measure of the heavens, 'What thinks Boeotes as he drives his dogs up the zenith in their race of siderial fire?' will force itself on his notice. What, indeed, would Boeotes think of this new constellation?

"Besides, reaching this space, beyond the power of Congress even 'to send for persons and papers,' how shall he return, and how decide in the contest, there become personal and perpetual the struggle of strength between him and the President? In this new constellation, thus established forever, who shall decide which is the sun and which is the moon? Who determine the only scientific test which reflects the hardest upon the other?"

Although possessed of great public spirit and an intellectual leader of his party, Mr. Evarts was but an indifferent politician so far as his own interests were concerned.

Thus have passed away in my time without receiving the highest office in the gift of the people four statesmen—Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, and Wm. M. Evarts—who in services and in talents were head and shoulders above their fellow-legislators. Is this Republic ungrateful? Or is there a decadence of appreciation among us of public talent and service?

As I have already related, it was customary for the cottagers of Twilight Park and the guests at the several hotels

in the vicinity to assemble every Sunday evening during the summer in Chicora Cottage to sing for one hour the psalms and hymns of their respective churches. September the 15th, 1901, was the last evening of the tenth season of these gatherings.

After three hymns had been sung, I rose and said: "Ladies and gentlemen, to-night closes the tenth year of these meetings. Before we separate, I desire in behalf of myself and my family to express the pleasure they have given us.

"Not a single disagreeable incident has occurred to mar our harmony—a remarkable record considering the number of religious denominations here represented.

"But to-night we are called upon, in common with our whole country, to mourn the loss, by wicked assassination, of our beloved President and to contemplate with deep humiliation an atrocious crime which disgraces our civilization the more than it has recurred three times within thirty-six years.

"President Abraham Lincoln died at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, April 15th, 1865. He was shot by John Wilkes Booth.

"President James A. Garfield died on Monday, September 19th, 1881, at thirty-five minutes after ten in the evening. He was shot by Charles J. Guiteau.

"President William McKinley died on Saturday, September 14th, 1901, at fifteen minutes after two o'clock in the morning. He was shot by Leon Czolgosz.

"To have participated in these three national sorrows is one of the penalties of my long and active life. I made the address before the Tammany Society, of New York, in 1865 on the death of President Lincoln. I acted as one of the Committee in London, which organized the large meeting of Americans and Englishmen on the occasion of the death of President Garfield, in 1881. And to-day I called you together to listen to the wise, patriotic and pious consolations of our distinguished fellow-cottager, the Rt. Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee, Bishop of Washington, in this our great national and personal affliction.

"But the Bishop received a telegram this afternoon peremptorily calling him to Washington to participate officially in the arrangement for the funeral services of the President.

"I now read you, therefore, an excellent letter from the Bishop, which I shall follow with a short extract from the prayers adapted for the occasion by Bishop Potter of this Diocese:

"'*My Dear Colonel Lathers:*—I have just received word from Washington which obliges me to leave on to-night's boat. To my deep regret this will prevent my coming to your house to-night. To express what we all feel so deeply in these sad days, is simply impossible. This dumb shaken feeling which pervades the country brings back vividly the days of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Our beloved President will ever be associated with that martyr. Their lives and works were different, but their aim was the same.

"'Faithfully yours,

"'HENRY Y. SATTERLEE.'

"'O Almighty God, the Supreme Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it justly belongs to punish sinners, and to be merciful to those who truly repent, save and deliver this land, we beseech Thee, from all false teaching and from all secret foes and grant that this, Thy people, being armed with the weapons of truth and righteousness, may drive far hence all lawless men and all treasonable fellowships and so preserve the heritage of their fathers to be the home of a God-fearing nation, ever doing Thy holy will, to the glory of Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

"'O merciful God and Heavenly Father, who hast taught us in Thy Holy Word that Thou dost not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men, look with pity, we beseech Thee, upon the sorrow and shame of our common country, stained and dishonored by the murder of its Chief Magistrate. Remember us, O Lord, in mercy, sanctify this sore chastisement

to our greater good; dispel our ignorance; arouse us from our indifference, enlighten us by Thy Holy Spirit, and so lift up Thy countenance upon us and give us peace. Grant to her, who by this sorrow has been most of all bereaved, that she, walking by faith, may see Thy light in all her darkness, and at last having served Thee with constancy on earth, may be joined hereafter with Thy blessed saints in glory everlasting. Amen.'

"This letter and this prayer are far more appropriate than anything I could venture to say on this painful and solemn occasion.

"And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, neighbors and friends, in deep sympathy with you and with the country in its bereavement, I bid you good-night."

CHAPTER XV

LAST REFLECTIONS

In looking backward over the past sixty years, I have no tenderer memories, barring of course, those connected with my family life, which cannot interest the public, than those connected with my relations with the church.

I am the great-grandson of the Rev. Richard Dawson, an English rector of an Irish parish—a kind of waif, a child of the church—and I have been connected with three parishes, in three different States and Dioceses, whose beginnings reach back beyond the foundation of our national government itself.

My church record begins as a pupil in the Sunday School of the parish church of Prince George Winyah, in Georgetown, South Carolina. The rector at that time was the Rev. Paul Trapier Keith, lineal descendant of the Rev. Alexander Keith, who was despatched to Carolina by the Lord Bishop of London as rector of this same church. The present church building was erected in 1734 with brick sent across the ocean from England for the purpose.

In due time, before quite reaching my majority, I became a warden of the church and, some time after, Mr. Keith was called to old St. Michael's, Charleston, as the successor of his cousin, the Rev. Paul Trapier. I resigned my office in the Prince George vestry on my removal to New Rochelle, where I was at once elected a warden of Trinity Church on the nomination of my friend, Rev. Thomas W. Coit. Trinity was an old Huguenot church which conformed and received its charter as an Episcopal Church from George the Third; and my co-warden at Trinity was, curiously enough, the grandson of an original Huguenot from France. Trinity is among the most thriving of our country parishes and I am proud of my association of over half a century with it.

Interior of Trinity Church, New Rochelle

As warden of Trinity Parish, I became a delegate to the Episcopal Convention of the New York Diocese in 1849, and have served in that capacity in every annual session up to the present—except when prevented by absence from the State, in Europe or at the South—and I have had the honor of endorsing the credentials of three of our Bishops. I have witnessed the steady growth of our Church and the importance and influence of its Diocesan councils upon the social, political, and intellectual movements of the time. Indeed, the Church, its sacred functions quite apart, is among the great lights of modern civilization.

One of the principal questions to be passed upon by this, my first Convention, was the application of St. Philip's Church, a colored congregation, for the admission of their delegates to seats therein, which was granted by a large majority. The issue had been debated at many previous sessions, but a vote had been avoided hitherto by resort to parliamentary tactics. The clergy, as a body, believed that the agitation for the admission of colored delegates was prompted by political rather than by ecclesiastical motives, but they could not conscientiously vote for exclusion. The colored delegates sat alone in their pew, and were barely recognized even by those who had been their most ardent advocates. They took no part in the proceedings beyond answering to their names when called upon to vote. Dr. I. McCune Smith, a South Carolinian, the first colored man ever admitted to any legislative body in this country, was the chairman of this delegation.

This Convention of 1849 was a most remarkable body. The clerical delegates included Dr. Frank Vinton, Dr. Seabury, Dr. Hawks, Dr. Thomas House Taylor, Dr. Wainwright, Dr. Horatio Potter, Dr. Samuel R. Johnson, Dr. Gregory Biddle, Dr. Haight, Dr. Higbee, Dr. McVicar, Dr. Whitehouse, Dr. Beeman, Dr. Anthony, Dr. Coit, and Dr. Tyng; and among the lay-delegates were Luther Bradish, Julian C. Verplanck, P. S. VanRensselaer, Floyd Smith, John A. Dix, Horatio Seymour, Stewart Brown, Frederick de Peyster, Frederick S. Winston, Erastus Brooks, John E. Aspinwall, W. E. Dunscome, Thomas

Floyd Jones, Cyrus Castor, Murray Hoffman, I. C. Spencer, John Jay, Walter R. Jones, Lewis Morris, George L. Buychisek, John A. King, and Hamilton Fish.

The Rev. Dr. Vinton was, for several years, the most prominent clergyman in the Diocese. Indeed, he was the first choice in the several election contests for the Bishopric, but, owing to more or less jealousy of his talents on the part of some of his fellow-clergymen, he was always defeated. I became acquainted with Dr. Vinton and his lovely wife, in New Orleans, while we were the guests there of a mutual New England friend, Mr. Adams. I recall the Doctor's eloquent and profound sermons, which so delighted the Episcopalians of New Orleans during his visit, and I cannot resist the impulse to relate a striking instance of womanly consideration on the part of Mrs. Vinton, which was worthy of a daughter of the gallant and distinguished Commodore Perry. The church where the Doctor preached in the evening was some distance from Mr. Adams' house, but the weather being fine, it was agreed that we should walk thither. Our host, having a previous engagement, was unable to accompany us; so his wife was escorted by the Doctor, and Mrs. Vinton by myself. After walking a short distance in close proximity to the Doctor and Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Vinton remarked, "You may not know that Mrs. Adams is an old New England sweetheart of the Doctor's. He has not met her in many years until our visit here. It is quite natural that they should have many pleasant memories to recall, and, as she is a little hard of hearing and the Doctor will have to converse rather audibly, let us drop back some distance so they may talk more freely of the bygone days."

Dr. Vinton had not been long at Trinity Church, New York —whither he had come from a relatively unimportant Brooklyn parish—before he had established a reputation for preaching profound and eloquent sermons. Indeed, one of these sermons, delivered shortly before the Secession War, was considered by many the fairest and most scriptural statement of the relation of the Church to the institution of slavery that had ever

been made at the North. He justified slavery as a paternal institution, inherited from the patriarchal ages, by numerous quotations and inferences from both the Old Testament and the New, and explained that the harsher features of slavery in the South were ameliorated wherever the refining influence of the Church prevailed.

During the Civil War I invited a friend to whom I had often quoted passages from this sermon to go with me to hear Dr. Vinton preach. Imagine my surprise when the Doctor, in his sermon of that day, ignoring the statements and arguments of his former discourse, asserted that slavery had not only been the cause of disunion, but that it had gradually undermined the civilization, culture, and religion of the South. In proof of this assertion he stated that in his youthful days, while still a student, he had visited Virginia, and found there a high degree of social and religious culture, and that at his last visit, after a lapse of twenty years, he had noticed a great deterioration in these respects.

My friend remarked that the Rev. Doctor had "gone back on himself," if I had quoted his former sermon correctly. I said, "No, you are mistaken. He has merely omitted his previous theoretical views, but has truthfully related just what he observed on each of his visits to Virginia. You must understand that when the Doctor, as a cadet from West Point (where he associated with the *élite* of the South, which was largely represented in that school), visited the South, he came into contact with slaveholders of culture, who held inherited slaves solely for the tilling of the soil, and who treated them almost like members of the family. On his next visit he was unfortunate in having letters of introduction to a class of modern slaveholders, who did not inherit their slaves from family estates and who did not use them for tilling the soil but who reared them mainly for sale further South, where they could be more profitably employed, and bought and sold them like cotton."

There is no truth in this statement.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe was imposed upon by visiting this same class, and misled the public accordingly.

Another conspicuous figure in the New York Diocese was Dr. Stephen H. Tyng. He came to New York from Philadelphia, where he was highly esteemed as a brilliant orator, a profound sermonizer, and a zealous pastor. He had low-church leanings theologically, but was a martinet in maintaining the dignity and power of the priesthood. His self-assertion, backed by his unquestionable ability, rendered him unpopular with the would-be leaders in church politics, while his great energy in connection with charitable enterprises and his unaffected piety made him one of the most popular of our city clergymen with the general public. In one of the diocesan conventions, soon after his entrance into the New York Diocese, a leading clerical member interrupted a speech he was making before he had had time to explain his drift, by remarking, "The gentleman has misapprehended the question before the Convention." Without waiting for further explanation, Dr. Tyng said, "Sit down, Sir! When Dr. Tyng desires to debate a question before such a body as this, he has, he hopes, too much modesty to make the attempt without comprehending the question, and if the reverend gentleman will preserve his soul with patience, and exercise the same modesty before attempting to interrupt a speaker in an untimely manner, he will be less offensive."

This settled the status of Dr. Tyng in the Convention, and insured respect for him throughout the Diocese.

I recall another instance of Dr. Tyng's masterfulness in debate. A resolution (in the interests of the poorly paid clergymen of the country parishes) had been introduced and well received, which made it the duty of the senior warden to read from the chancel a request for an increase of salary in order to relieve the rector of the embarrassment of appealing to his congregation himself. No objection having been made, the President was about to put the question, when Dr. Tyng suddenly arose. He said that the ill-paid country clergymen were often unworthy of better compensation; that they were lazy, and seemed to think their whole duty consisted in reading the service in a hum-drum manner and preaching common-

place sermons on worn-out topics, which opened neither the hearts nor the purses of their hearers. He held that such men were of no value to their parishes or to the Church at large, and that they would do better to go into some less intellectual occupation in which they could earn a living and leave their parishes open to young men who had energy and talent to put into the work of the Master. He believed that the congregations could be counted on to take care of godly young men of that stamp. "Besides," he concluded, "I object to laymen going into the chancels to perform the functions of our clergy. The fact is my vestry could not produce a man so immodest as to attempt that service."

As a result of this vigorous protest, the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

While Dr. Tyng was delivering a lecture on Romanism in Philadelphia, the celebrated and learned Catholic priest, Dr. Piese of the Barclay Street Church, New York, interrupted him, questioning one of his statements. Dr. Tyng looked at him a moment, and said in a determined voice, "Sit down, Sir. I do not choose to have the current of my address interfered with. I, therefore, withdraw the remark for future reference should you desire to discuss the question on a more timely occasion." It was believed that Dr. Piese was sent down to Philadelphia to antagonize and draw Dr. Tyng into debate.

Dr. Tyng was a hard and enthusiastic worker in his parish. He had over a thousand Sunday-school scholars and was able to call every one of them by name, and he often continued to use their Christian names after they were grown up. He always addressed Mrs. Lathers and her sisters thus.

Dr. Henry C. Potter, the present Bishop of the New York Diocese, whose credentials I had the honor of endorsing, is a national figure. The following letter, reciting his career, which he sent me in response to an urgent request, some months back, reveals the beautiful spirit of Bishop Potter both as a churchman and a citizen:

"Diocesan House, Lafayette Place,

"New York, July 7, 1900.

"*My Dear Colonel Lathers:*—With every wish to oblige you, I fear I can command the time to do so only in a brief way. I came to New York in May, 1868, as Rector of Grace Church, having just turned thirty-three. I found a run-down, down-town parish, with a half empty Church, wedded to old fashioned methods, and dreading innovations of any kind. My first task was to awaken it to the responsibilities arising out of its neighborhood (a) to clerks and the transient classes, (b) to the large tenement house population on the east of it, and (c) to the responsibilities in view of its obligations of leadership as a historic Church, first, to the two larger interests of its own Communion, and then the higher welfare of the whole community. To this end I built Grace Chapel in East 14th Street a free Church; Grace Memorial House in Fourth Avenue for work among the children of working people; a Parish House on Broadway north of Grace Church; a Chapel and Sunday School building on the south side; organized Clubs, Reading Rooms, Societies for caring for the sick and strangers, &c., &c. This work was spread over some 15 years, during which I succeeded in overcoming the prejudices of my people against night-services and free seats, and had this ultra-exclusive fashionable Church crowded on week nights, with strangers, and a center of influence and leading among 'all sorts and conditions of men.' My Episcopate called me to other tasks and widened a good deal my horizon; but I came to it with the keen conviction that the Episcopal Church was not merely the Church of a privileged class or *Culte,* but had a message and a welcome for all classes and communities—the laborer as well as the employer, the Clerk as well as the Capitalist. I succeeded in carrying through our Diocesan Convention the scheme which divided the Diocese into five Archdeaconries—New York, Westchester, Dutchess, Orange, and

Richmond; and made each Archdeaconry a center of Missionary *authority* and *activity*.

"In New York, I planted the Pro-Cathedral in Stanton Street, connected it with the Community House in which young laymen, and trained women reside for a month or more at a time and work among the tenement house population, along the lines of the University Settlement idea. Here we also founded cooking schools, sewing schools, free baths, gymnasium, a free library, &c. Meantime, I took up the extinct shell of the Cathedral plan, filled up the Board of Trustees with able men, and called on my fellow citizens and fellow Churchmen to help me. How nobly they have done so you know. We have been enabled to secure the most superb site in any city in the modern world, have gathered over $2,000,000, have begun services in the Crypt, and are moving on to the completion of the vast structure, with wholly unexpected rapidity, and with, what is best of all—the hearty sympathy of every best element of the Community.

"Of my work as a citizen you are quite as familiar as need be. In the Diocesan House, we organized, some years ago, the first Voluntary Board of Arbitration in this country, including, together with others, both the employers of labor and laborers as members. I have been privileged to arbitrate some of the largest strikes in the country, and in every case with successful results. As you know, I have maintained my right, while holding that the Clergy shall stand apart from official connections with political organizations, to 'speak my mind' as a citizen, and have done so—and that, my dear Col. Lathers, is really all that I can tell you. One thing I think may with truth be said, that to-day the Bishop of New York belongs to all his fellow citizens for service, and that of whatever creed, they so account him—to all of them for service, and to none of them for tribute.

"Believe me, my dear Colonel Lathers,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. C. Potter."

Hardly second in sacredness to my memories of my church relations are my memories of the social occasions through which I was permitted to bring the estranged of the two sections of our country together.

About an equal number of Union and Confederate officers have met one another, since the War, under my roof-tree and have reviewed there their battles and their tactics in the freest and kindliest manner. Of the Union officers, I remember Robert Anderson, George B. McClellan, Nelson A. Miles, Daniel E. Sickles, Vogdes, L. P. di Cesnola, John A. Dix, William F. Bartlett, Irvin McDowell, Stewart, Van Vliet, and Admiral Ammen; and of the Confederate officers, Joseph E. Johnston, James Chestnut, J. B. Gordon, J. C. Breckinridge, M. C. Butler, A. R. Lawton, James Connor, Bonum, Gustavus W. Smith, and Mansfield Lovell.

It is to me a thought of unspeakable joy that I have been able to hear Gen. McDowell of the Northern Army and Gen. Bonum and Gen. Chestnut of the Confederate Army exchange reminiscences of the War and discuss with genial humor at my table, in Charleston, over their Madeira, the tactics of Bull Run and other battles. In my Charleston house, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston met socially Speaker Randall of Pennsylvania. Governor Seymour of New York and Ex-Gov. Clifford of Massachusetts met Governor Magrath of South Carolina, Ex-Gov. Gordon of Georgia, and the ex-Secretaries of the Confederate Treasury, Trenholm and Memminger. There, also, the venerable William Cullen Bryant met the Georgia poet, James R. Randall.

At Abby Lodge, in the Berkshires, I entertained—as far as practicable in groups—the celebrities of the North and South, who, slavery and secession apart, had common ideas or common aspirations: Governor Curtin, the War Governor of Pennsylvania, and Gov. Orr, the War Governor of South Carolina; Gen. Mansfield Lovell, who commanded the Confederate forces captured by Gen. Butler at New Orleans, and Gen. W. H. Bartlett, the gallant Union general of Massa-

chusetts; Samuel Bowles, editor of the leading Republican journal of New England, and F. W. Dawson, editor of the Charleston *News and Courier,* the leading conservative Democratic organ of the South after the War; Rev. Dr. Irenaeus Prime, editor of the *Observer,* the Presbyterian organ of New York, Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field, editor of the *Evangelist,* the Congregational organ of New York, and Rev. Dr. A. Toomer Porter and Rev. Dr. Pinckney of South Carolina; Rev. Dr. Moses D. Hoge, the distinguished Virginia divine who ran the naval blockade to England in order to procure Bibles for the Confederate Army, and Rev. Dr. Todd, the New England divine who wrote the celebrated Todd's Manual; two ex-Speakers of the House of Representatives, Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, and James Orr of South Carolina; the novelists, Hermann Melville of Massachusetts, and William Gilmore Simms of South Carolina; the Rt. Rev. Thomas Lynch, Roman Catholic Bishop of South Carolina, and Rev. Dr. Paddock, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts.

At Winyah Park, New Rochelle, I presented Gen. Hooker, of the Confederate Army, to Judge Pierpont, our minister to England. And it was there that Miss Winnie Davis, the accomplished daughter of Jefferson Davis, met such eminent Northerners and Southerners as Hon. David Dudley Field, Gen. Joseph James, Wm. M. Evarts and Charles O'Conor, and Govs. Hoffman, Tilden, Seymour, and Flower.

Finally, in my New York home, I had the crowning satisfaction and honor of presenting Miss Mary Lee, the daughter of Gen. Robert E. Lee, Commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces, to the daughter-in-law of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the Commander-in-chief of the Union forces.

Alas, most of these persons, like most of the persons mentioned in these reminiscences, are now in their graves—for death respects neither patriotism, virtue, nor the honors of this world.

I love to recall these occasions of social reconciliation because they bring vividly before me my friends of both sec-

tions and because they are a welcome relief from the anxieties with which every patriotic heart must be filled by the present disorganized and threatening state of our public affairs.

"Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,
Bright scenes of the past which she cannot destroy,
That come in the night-time of sorrow and care,
And bring back the features which joy used to wear.
Long, long be my heart with such memories filled!
Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled—
You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

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builds a summer residence there, 53-54; Studies drawing and architecture under Alexander J. Davis, 54; Is advised by Samuel F. B. Morse, 56-57; Lends his flute to Kyle, the flutist, who accompanies Jenny Lind with it, 59; Serves on the Committee of One Hundred citizens appointed to receive the Prince of Wales, 60; Establishes himself as a commission merchant and as agent of insurance companies and banks, 63; Accepts a directorship and the chairmanship of the Finance Committee in a marine insurance company, 64; Accepts the presidency of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company, 65-66; Becomes a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 67-68; Is elected a director and chairman of the Finance Committee of the Erie Railroad, 68; Attempts in vain to control the stock speculating mania of Daniel Drew, 69; Is one of the vice-presidents of the meeting of conservative citizens in the Academy of Music 72; Is appointed one of a Committee of Three to call meetings for the election of delegates to the Charleston Democratic Convention, 73; Refuses to represent New Rochelle in the County Nominating Convention, 73; Is elected to represent Westchester County in the State Convention, 73; Addresses a letter to five representative citizens of Charleston, S. C., 74-80; Receives their answers, 81-91; Is one of seventeen conservative men to arrange for the Pine Street Meeting and calls this meeting to order, 91-92; Is appointed one of a Committee of Three to present to the South the "Address" and "Resolutions" of the Pine Street Meeting, 112; Receives letters from prominent men in the South, 112-117; Is requested to undertake alone the Pine Street Meeting mission, 120; Sets out for the South, 120; Attends the sessions of the Peace Convention at Washington, 120; Meets James Lyons and other distinguished Virginians in Richmond, 120-121; Presents the "Address" in Charleston at a dinner given by Gov. Pickens, 121; Is invited by Gov. Pickens and Gen Jameson to visit Fort Moultrie, 122; Sends from Charleston a letter which is printed in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, 126-129; Goes from Charleston to Savannah, 130; Helps to adjust the controversy between Gov. Brown and the police of New York over the seizure by the latter of a consignment of arms belonging to the State of Georgia, 130-133; Visits Fort Pickens on invitation of Gov. Brown, 134; Hears for the first time the prayer for the President of the Confederate States, 135; Sends a letter from Savannah to the New York *Express*, 135-136, Goes from Savannah to Augusta, 137; Goes from Augusta to Columbus and Macon, 137; Goes next to Montgomery, Ala., 137; Sends a letter from Montgomery to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, 137-138; Is introduced to President Davis, 139; Presents to President Davis the "Appeal to the South" of the Pine Street Meeting, accompanying it by an address, 139-163; Is invited to an evening reception at the residence of President Davis, 163; Sends a

Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
second letter from Montgomery to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, 163-165; Visits Mobile on invitation of the Chamber of Commerce, 165; Is interrupted while speaking before the Mobile Chamber of Commerce by the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter, 166; Visits New Orleans on invitation of the Chamber of Commerce, 167; Is ordered to leave the city by the Mayor of New Orleans, 167; Returns North, 167; Is accused of disloyalty by several New York papers, 168-170; Sends a communication to the press declaring his loyalty, 171; Receives many threatening letters, 171-172; Contributes financially and otherwise to the work of putting down the Rebellion, 173; Participates in a meeting of bankers summoned to discuss aiding the Treasury by subscription to a loan, 174-176; Urges the nomination of Gen. Dix for the Governorship of New York, 176; Visits Gen. Dix at Fortress Monroe, 178; Writes a letter to Gen. Dix on his candidacy, 179-180; Confers with Ex-Governor Seymour, 180-181; Initiates a movement for the presentation to Gen. Scott of a portrait of himself, 183; Is appointed by the President of the Chamber of Commerce one of a Committee of Three to draft and present a memorial to President Lincoln, 184-188; Interviews Secretary Seward and Secretary Chase, 187-188; Entertains Gen. McClellan at New Rochelle, 192-194; Interviews Gov. Seymour regarding the duration of the War, 196-197; Visits England and the Continent, 197-219; Attends a banquet given by James McHenry, 198-199; Is

Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
elected an honorary member of the Committee of Lloyds and delivers an address before that body, 199; Delivers an address before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 199-206; Is interviewed by Confederate bond - holders, 206-207; Is entertained at Edinburgh by Sir James Simpson, 207; Writes to John A. Parker describing the state of English sentiment, 209-214; Receives a letter from Wilson G. Hunt describing conditions in New York, 214-216; Is instrumental in securing an American manager for the Langham Hotel, 217-218; Confounds the clerk of a Paris hotel, 218-219; Returns to New York, 219; Drafts and circulates an appeal to the Secretary of the Navy, 219-223; Interviews Editor Stone regarding a bogus dispatch, 224-225; Delivers an address before the Mercantile Library Association, 230; Delivers an address on Lincoln at New Rochelle, 232; Delivers an address on Lincoln at Tammany Hall, 232; Makes the acquaintance of Gov. Scott, of South Carolina, and aids him in raising funds for the State in New York, 238; Receives many appeals for financial help from old friends in the South, 240-251; Entertains Dr. Porter at New Rochelle, 251-252; Co-operates with Dr. Porter and John C. Hoadley in founding an educational fund for the South, 252-253; Secures the release of the Winyah Indigo Society and helps in re-establishing public worship in the South, 255; Entertains William Gilmore Simms at New Rochelle, 255-257; Accepts a directorship in the Humbolt Mining & Re-

Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
fining Co., 258; Declines to invest in Cyrus W. Field's elevated road, 260; Delivers an address to a joint meeting of white and colored men at Georgetown, S. C., 261-270; Counsels the citizens of Charleston to co-operate with the negroes, 270-271; Attends banquet in honor of President Johnson, 273; Visits President Johnson, 274; Becomes connected with the York Guaranty and Indemnity Company, 275; Entertains Gen. Johnston at Morley's Hotel, 275-277; Loses his friend Donald McKay, 277-279; Resigns the Presidency of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company, 279-283; Is presented with a silver service and a portrait by Huntington, 283-287; Resigns his membership in the Chamber of Commerce, 287; Takes up residence in Charleston, 288; Secures the vindication and rehabilitation of Alfred Huger, 289-296; Secures the transformation of the old Charleston customhouse and postoffice building into a post and telegraph office, 296-297; Goes as a Charleston delegate to the convention of the National Board of Trade at Buffalo, where he responds to the toast "Our Country," 297; Is instrumental in organizing the first Taxpayers' Convention, which he attends as one of two delegates from Charleston, 298-301; Speaks at the annual dinner of the Charleston Hibernian Society and at two anniversaries of the New England Society, 302; Supports actively the Greeley ticket, 302; Entertains Gov. Clifford of Massachusetts and other Northern visitors at his South Battery residence, 304-307; Entertains

Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
Judge Davies of New York, 307; Entertains Ex-Gov. Seymour and William Cullen Bryant, 308-312; Fights and wins a social battle, 310-312; Entertains a number of Northern railroad presidents and bankers, 312-316; Entertains Dr. Henry W. Bellows, 317-318; Visits Charles Sumner, 319-320; Attends the second Taxpayers' Convention, where he drafts resolutions and delivers an address, 319-320; Presents the case of the taxpayers before President Grant and a joint committee of Congress, 320-325; Is made an honorary member of the Alumni Association of Williams College, 325; Delivers an address at Williams College on "State Rights as Opposed to State Sovereignty," 325; Gives up his Charleston residence for Abby Lodge, Pittsfield, Mass., 326; Gives a reception at Abby Lodge in honor of Gov. Curtin and Mrs. Curtin, 330-331; Becomes intimate with Samuel Bowles of the Springfield *Republican*, 332-333; Delivers an address before the Deerfield Agricultural Society, 334; Speaks on "Journalism and Journalists" before the editors and reporters of Berkshire County, 334; Speaks frequently for the Tilden and Hendricks ticket, 334; Runs as candidate for State Senator, 338-344; Is elected on the face of the returns, but is counted out, 344-345; Attempts to secure for the marine underwriters their just dues under the Geneva Award, 345-348; Has an encounter with Gen. Butler before the Judiciary Committee of Congress, 346-348; Loses his old friend, Henry Gourdin, 348; Sails for Eu-

Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
rope, 350-352; Meets by chance the Earl of Orkney, 353-354; Has an amusing experience with the Savage Club of London, 354-357; Unites with other Americans in calling a meeting at the American Exchange to express sympathy with Mrs. Garfield, 359-361; Returns to America, 363; Responds to the sentiment "Shipping and Commerce" at a banquet of the Associated Marine Underwriters of the United States, 363; Lectures at New Rochelle on "Women and Their Relation to Society," 363-364; Assists in honoring the memory of his friend, Wm. E. Dodge, 364; Renews his acquaintance with Mr. Blaine, 367; Refuses to be a candidate for State Senator, 367-368; Defends President Cleveland at the Jackson Day banquet, 368; Visits Europe, 368; Speaks at the Fourth of July banquet at Lucerne, Switzerland, 368-369; Returns to America, 369; Replies to Chauncey M. Depew, 369; Delivers an address before The Church Club, 370; Speaks on "Tariff Reform" at the banquet of the Business Men's Democratic Club of New York City, 370; Speaks again before the same organization in response to the toast, "Business Men in Politics," 370-372; Speaks at the Lotos Club in reply to Col. Ingersoll, 372; Entertains Miss Winnie Davis at New Rochelle, 372-373; Builds a residence at Twilight Park, in the Catskills, 373; Entertains Miss Mary Custis Lee, 374-376; Delivers a series of lectures on "Art" before the Borcella Club of New Rochelle, 378; Celebrates his Golden Wedding, 379-380;
Lathers, Richard.—*Continued.*
Refuses to serve as a member of the Election Committee of Westchester County because of the nomination of Bryan, 380; Talks on "Free Silver" at Twilight Park, 380; Addresses the Church Club on "The Duty of Churchmen to the State," 381-382; Donates a prize fund to Williams College, 382; Is elected an honorary member of Flandreau Post, 509, G. A. R., 382; Protests publicly against the resolutions of the "Hundredth Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," indorsing the Spanish-American War, 382; Publishes a pamphlet entitled "A Letter on the Social and Political Degradation of the Times," 382; Resigns membership in the Lotos Club, 385; Loses his friend, Col, Knox, 387; Denounces the Kansas City Convention, 388-390; Is appointed a vice-president of the Charleston Exposition, 390; Loses his friend, Wm. M. Evarts, 390; Conducts memorial services at Twilight Park in honor of President McKinley, 395-397.
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